

FIRST EDITION OF
WILLIAMS' TRANSLATION.



John Preston

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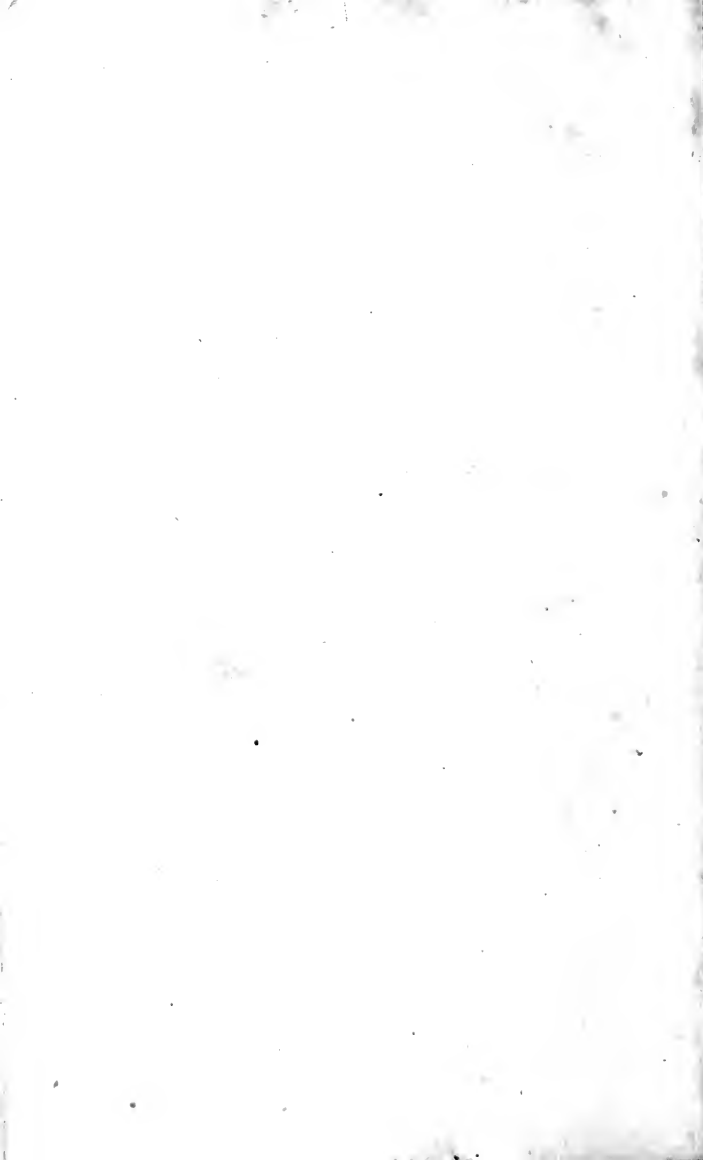
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LORD *BACON*'s
ESSAYS,
O R
COUNSELS
MORAL and CIVIL.

Translated from the *Latin* by
WILLIAM WILLTMOTT, LL. D.
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In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME the FIRST.

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TO THE
UNENVIED HONOUR,
AND
UNEXAMPLED GOODNESS,
OF THE

MOST NOBLE HIS GRACE

J A M E S,

DUKE of CHANDOS,

The Two following VOLUMES of Translations are humbly Dedicated and Presented, as a Publick Testimony of Gratitude to his GRACE,

By His GRACE'S

Most Obliged, Most Dutiful,

and Affectionate Servant,

William Willymott.

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T H E
T R A N S L A T O R
T O T H E
R E A D E R.



ACON's Essays Translated, will sound so surprizing to Many, that a Preface is necessary, if it were only to explain the Title: And That can't well be done, without mentioning the Occasion of the Translation; which was in short This.

THE TRANSLATOR

Wanting an English Book for my Scholars to Translate, which might improve them in Sense and Latin at once, (Two Things which should never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing more proper for that Purpose than BACON'S ESSAYS, provided the English, which is in some Places grown obsolete, were a little reformed, and made more fashionable. Accordingly having by me his Lordship's Latin Volume of the Essays, (which as it was a later, so seems to be a perfecter Book) I fell to Translating it, not tying my self strictly to the Latin, but comparing both Languages together, and setting down that
Sense.

to the R E A D E R.

Sense (where there was any Difference) that seem'd the fullest and plainest. And so much for the First Volume.

For the Second, it is Translated all from his Lordship's Nine Books de Augmentis Scientiarum, excepting the last two or three Pages, which are transcribed from his Lordship's Advancement of Learning, written at first and publish'd in Two Books in the English Tongue. The whole Nine Books I found rendred into English by Dr. Gilbert Wats of Oxford; to which Version I am so much obliged, as not to think my self at Liberty to mention the Faults of it.

THE TRANSLATOR

As for the Original Essays, (and the Continued Ones are nothing inferior to them) his Lordship is bold to say, That he conceives that the Latin Volume of them (being in the Universal Language) may last as long as Books last. And the English Volumes too may last as long as the English Tongue, if any one, once in a Century or two, would take the same Pains that I have done, to repair the Decays of a fleeting Language.

As to my Part, which is Fidelity to my Author, and Correctness of English, without any Apology of School-Avocations, I have endeavour'd Both to the utmost of my Power,

to the R E A D E R.

Power, and hope to have given Satisfaction: But if I should not, I can't say I shall repent me of my Labour; since I have gained thereby what I value much above the Credit of a good Translator; I mean, an Opportunity of discharging, in some sort, an indispensable Duty, even that of Gratitude, to as Great, and as Good a Man, (and I thank God I flatter no Body) as this Nation can boast of.



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A
C H A R A C T E R
O F T H E

Lord *B A C O N*,

*Given by Dr. SPRAT, late Bishop
of Rochester, in his History of
the Royal Society, Part 1. Sect.
16. Pag. 35, 36.*

—“HE Third sort of *New*
“ *Philosophers* have
“ been those, who have
“ not only disagreed
“ from the *Ancients*,
“ but have also propos'd to themselves
“ the right Course of slow and sure
“ *Experimenting*: And have prosecuted
“ it as far as the Shortness of their own
“ Lives, or the Multiplicity of their
“ other Affairs, or the Narrowness of
“ their Fortunes, have given them
“ Leave. Such as these, we are to expect
“ but few: For they must divest them-
“ selves of many vain Conceptions, and
“ overcome a thousand false Images,
“ which

A CHARACTER of the

“ which lie like Monsters in their way,
“ before they can get as far as this. And
“ of these I shall only mention one Great
“ Man, who had the true Imagination of
“ the whole Extent of this *Enterprize*,
“ as it is now set on foot; and that is,
“ the Lord *Bacon*. In whose Books
“ there are, every where scattered, the
“ best Arguments that can be produced
“ for the Defence of *Experimental Phi-*
“ *losophy*; and the best Directions that
“ are needful to promote it. All which
“ he has already adorn’d with so much
“ Art, that if my Desires could have
“ prevail’d with some excellent Friends
“ of mine, who engag’d me to this
“ Work, there should have been no o-
“ ther Preface to the *History of the Royal*
“ *Society*, but some of his *Writings*.
“ But, methinks, in this one Man I do
“ at once find enough Occasion to ad-
“ mire the Strength of Human Wit, and
“ to bewail the Weakness of a Mortal
“ Condition. For, is it not Wonderful,
“ That He, who had run through all the
“ Degrees of that *Profession*, which usu-
“ ally takes up Mens whole Time; who
“ had Studied, and Practis’d, and Go-
“ verned the *Common Law*: Who had
“ always liv’d in the Crowd, and born
“ the greatest Burden of Civil Business;
“ should

Lord BACON.

“ should yet find Leisure enough for
“ these retir’d Studies, to excel all those
“ Men, who separate themselves for this
“ very Purpose? He was a Man of strong,
“ clear, and powerful Imaginations: His
“ *Genius* was searching, and inimitable:
“ And of this I need give no other Proof,
“ than his Style it self; which as, for the
“ most part, it describes Men’s Minds, as
“ well as Pictures do their Bodies: So it
“ did *His*, above all Men living. The
“ *Course* of it Vigorous; and Maje-
“ stical: The *Wit* bold and familiar;
“ The *Comparisons* fetch’d out of the
“ way, and yet the most easie: In all, ex-
“ pressing a Soul equally skill’d in *Men*,
“ and *Nature*. All this, and much more,
is true of him: But yet his *Philosophi-
cal* Works do shew, that a single and
busy Hand can never grasp all this whole
Design, of which we treat. His *Rules*
were admirable: Yet his *History* not so
faithful as might have been wish’d in
many Places: He seems rather to *take*
all that comes, than to choose; and to
heap, rather than to *register*. But I hope
this Accusation of mine can be no great
Injury to his Memory; seeing, at the
same time that I say he had not the
Strength of *a thousand Men*, I do also al-
low him to have had as much as *Twenty*.

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LORD BACON'S ESSAYS.

I. *Of TRUTH.*



WHAT is TRUTH? said scoffing *Pilate*; and would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there are those, that delight in Giddiness of Thought; and count it a Bondage, to be tied up to a fixt Belief, or Steadiness of Opinion; affecting the Use of Free-Will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kind be gone, yet there remain certain windy *discoursing* Wits, which are of the same Veins, though there be not so

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much Blood in them, as was in those of the Antients. But it is not only the Difficulty and Labour, which Men undergo in finding out of TRUTH; nor again, that when it is found, it imposes a kind of Slavery upon Men's Thoughts, that brings Lies in Favour; but a natural, though corrupt, Love of the Lie it self. One of the later School of the *Grecians* examineth the Matter, and is at a stand, to think what should be in it, that Men should love a Lie, where neither it makes for Pleasure, as with Poets; nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the Lie's sake. But I know not how, this same TRUTH (as being a naked and open Day-light) doth not shew the Masquerades and Triumphs, the Farces and Fooleries of this World, half so magnificently and advantageously as Torches and Candle-Lights. TRUTH may perhaps come up to the Value of a Pearl, that sheweth best by Day; but it will never rise to the Price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that shines brightest in varied Lights. A mixture
of

of a Lie doth ever add Pleasure. Doth any Man doubt, that if there were taken out of Men's Minds, vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations of Things, Imaginations at Pleasure, and the like; but it would leave the Minds of a Number of Men poor dejected shrunken Things, full of Melancholy and Languor, and uneasy and unpleasing to themselves?

ONE of the Fathers, in great Severity, calls Poesie, *the Wine of Devils*, because it fills the Imagination with vain Things; though Poesie is but the Shadow of a Lie. But it is not the Lie, that passes through the Mind, that does the Hurt; but the Lie that sinks in, and settles in it; such I mean as we spake of before. But howsoever these Things are thus, in Men's depraved Judgments and Affections, yet TRUTH (which only doth judge itself) teaches, that the Inquiry after TRUTH, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; the Knowledge of TRUTH, which is the Presence of it; and the Reception of, and Assent to TRUTH, which is the Enjoying

of it; is the sovereign Good of Human Nature.

THE first Creature of God, in the six Days Works, was the Light of Sense; the last, the Light of Reason; and his Sabbath-Work, ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light upon the Face of the Matter, or *Chaos*; next into the Face of Man; and still he breathes and inspires Light into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a Pleasure to stand upon the Shore, and to see Ships tost upon the Waves: A Pleasure to stand at the Window of a Castle, and to behold an Engagement, and the various Events thereof below. But no Pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the Vantage-Ground of TRUTH; (a Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and serene;) and from thence to behold the Errors and Wandrings, the Mists and Tempests in the Vale beneath: Provided this Prospect be*
with

with Pity, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly it is a Heaven upon Earth, when a Man's Mind Moves in Charity, Rests in Providence, and Turns upon the Poles of TRUTH.

BUT to pass from Theological and Philosophical TRUTH, to TRUTH, or rather Veracity, in Civil Business; it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round Dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature: And that mixture of Falshood is like Alloy in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked Courses, are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth basely upon the Belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice that does so overwhelm a Man with Shame, as to be found false or perfidious: And therefore *Montaigne* saith very acutely, when he enquired the Reason, why the giving the Lie should be such a disgraceful and odious Charge; *If it be well weigh'd* (says he) *to say that a Man lies, is as much as to*

say, that he is a Bravado towards God, and a Coward towards Men. For the Liar insults God, and crouches to Man. Surely the Wickedness of Falshood, and breach of Faith cannot possibly be more highly express'd, than that it shall be the last Peal as it were to call down the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that Christ at his Second Coming shall not find Faith upon Earth.



II. Of DEATH.

MEN fear DEATH, as Children fear to go in the Dark. And as that natural Fear in Children is increased with frightful Tales, so is the other also. Certainly, the Meditation of DEATH, as DEATH *is the Wages of Sin*, and a Passage to another Life, is pious and wholesome; but the Fear of it, as it is a Debt of Nature, is weak and vain. Yet in Religious Meditations, there

there is sometimes an Alloy of Vanity, and of Superstition too. 'Tis advis'd in some of the Friars Books, that treat of Mortification, that a Man should think with himself, what the Pain is, when even the least Joint of a Finger is tortured; and thereby judge how great the Torment of DEATH is, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolv'd; when yet DEATH many times passes with less Pain, than is felt in the Torture of a Limb. For the most vital Parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher, and natural Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa*: Groans and Sobs, Convulsions, Paleness of Visage, Friends weeping, Funeral Obsequies, and the like, these are the Things that shew DEATH terrible. It is very observable, that there is no Passion of the Mind so weak, but it masters and subdues the fear of DEATH. And therefore DEATH is no such formidable Enemy, since a Man has so many Champions about him, that can win the

Combat of him. Revenge triumphs over DEATH; Love flights it; Honour courts it; fear of Disgrace chuses it; Grief flies to it; Fear anticipates it. Nay we read, that after *Otho* the Emperor had slain himself, even Pity (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die with him, out of mere Compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Attendants. Nay, *Seneca* adds Niceness, and Satiety; *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* “Consider how
 “ long you have done the same things;
 “ A Man would die, tho’ he were
 “ neither valiant, nor miserable, only
 “ upon weariness of doing the same
 “ Things over and over again.

NOR is it less observable, how little Alteration, in a generous and brave Mind, the approach of DEATH makes; for those Men bear the same Spirit, even to the last Moment. *Augustus* *Cæsar* died in a Compliment; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor vive, & vale.* *Tiberius*, in Dis-
 simulation;

simulation; for *Tacitus* says thus of him; *Jam Tiberium, vires & corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant. Vespasian*, in a Jest; for easing himself upon the Stool; *Ut puto, Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit Populi Romani*; holding forth his Neck at the same time. *Septimius Severus*, in the dispatch of Business: *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*; and the like of others. Certainly the *Stoicks* bestow'd too much Cost upon DEATH: For by their grand Preparations against it, they have made it appear more terrible. Better he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ*. For 'tis as natural for Men to Dye, as to be Born; and an Infant, perhaps, feels as much Pain in This, as the other.

HE that dies in the Prosecution of some earnest Desire, is like one that is wounded in hot Blood, who does not feel the Blow. Therefore a Mind fix'd and bent upon somewhat that is good, steals from the Pains of DEATH. But when all is done, the sweetest of Canticles is, *Nunc dimittis*; when a Man hath ob-

10 *Of Unity in RELIGION.*

obtain'd his Ends, and worthy Expectations. There is this also in DEATH, that it opens the Gate to good Fame, and extinguishes Envy.

Extinctus amabitur idem.



III. *Of Unity in Religion.*

RELIGION being the chief Band of human Society, 'twere fit, that it self also were contain'd within the due Bands of true Unity and Charity. Quarrels and Divisions about Religion, were Evils unknown to the Heathen. And no wonder, since the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites, and external Worship of their Gods, than in any constant Confession and Belief. For it is easy to guess what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But it is one of the Attributes of the true God, that he is a Jealous God: Therefore his Worship will endure no Mixture or Partner. We shall therefore speak a few Words concerning UNITY
in

in the Church; namely, *What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds, and what the Means.*

THE Fruits of UNITY (over and above that it is highly pleasing to God, which is all in all) are Two principally. The one regards those that are *Without* the Church; the other those that are *Within*. For the former, it is certain, that Heresies and Schisms are of all others the greatest Scandals in the Church; being even worse than Corruption of Manners. For as in the natural Body, Wounds, and a Solution of Continuity, are worse in Kind than corrupt Humours; so is it in the spiritual Body. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive them out of the same, as Breach of UNITY: And therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*; another, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is, while some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Hereticks; others in an outward Face of a Church; that Voice had need continually to sound in Men's Ears, *nolite exire, go not out.* THE

THE great Doctor of the Gentiles (whose peculiar Vocation and Mission enjoined him to have a special care of those *Without*) saith: *If an Infidel or an Heathen Man enter your Congregations, and hear you speak with divers Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when Atheists and profane Persons do see such Contentions, and so many discordant Opinions in Religion; for this turns them from the Church, and makes them *to sit down in the Chair of the Scorners*. It may seem too light a Thing to be cited in so serious a Treatise, but yet it excellently well expresses the Deformity of the Thing. A great Master of Scoffing, in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, amongst the rest, sets down a Book with this Title, *The Antick-Dances, and Gesticulations of Hereticks*. For every Sect of them has a certain ridiculous Posture, and Deformity of Cringe, peculiar to itself; which cannot but move Derision in Libertines, and depraved Politicks, who are apt to contemn Holy Things.

As

Of Unity in RELIGION. 13

As for the Fruit of UNITY, redounding to those that are *Within*, it is, in one Word, Peace; which containeth infinite Blessings; for it establissheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; nay, the outward Peace of the Church distilleth by degrees into inward Peace of Conscience; and it turneth the Labours of writing and reading Controversies, into Treatises of Devotion, and Mortification.

As to the Bounds and Limits of UNITY, the true and just placing of them is doubtless of exceeding great Import, as to all Things in Religion. And in stating these, there appear to be two Extremes. For to certain Zealots, all mention of Pacification is odious; *Is it Peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with Peace? Turn thee behind me.* As though Peace were not the Matter, but Sect and Party. Contrariwise, certain *Lao-diceans* as it were, and luke-warm Persons, think they may accommodate Points of Religion by Middle-ways, and taking part of both; and witty Reconcilements; as if they meant to be Arbitrators;

14 *Of Unity in* RELIGION.

trators between God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the League between Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in those Clauses, that seem at first sight to cross one another, soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us, is against us: And again, He that is not against us, is with us:* That is, if the Points plainly Essential and Fundamental in Religion were truly discerned, and distinguished from Points not merely of Faith, but of Opinion, and good Intention, established for the sake of Order and Church-Polity. This is a Thing that may seem to many a Matter trivial, and done already: But if this very Thing were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

IN this Affair I think good to give something of Advice, according to my small Model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's Church, by two Kinds of Controversies. The first is, when the Matter of the Point controverted
is

is too small and light, not worth the Heat and Strife about it; being kindled only by Contradiction. For as it is acutely and elegantly noted by one of the Fathers: *Christ's Coat indeed had no Seam: But the Church's Vesture was of divers Colours.* Whereupon he advises: *Let there be Variety in the Vesture, but no Scissure.* For UNITY and UNIFORMITY are widely different. The other is, when the Matter of the Point controverted is weighty indeed, but it is drivento an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; so that it seems to be a Thing, rather Ingenious than Substantial. A Man that is of Judgment and Understanding, shall sometimes hear Ignorant Men squabble about a Question; and know well within himself, that those who so differ, are in Reality of the same Sentiment, and mean one Thing; and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it so come to pass sometimes, in that small Distance of Judgment, which may be between Man and Man; shall we not think, that God above, that
searches

16 *Of Unity in RELIGION.*

searches and knows the Heart, discerns clearly, that frail Men, in some of their Controversies, intend really the same Thing, and accepteth of both? The Nature and Character of such Controversies is excellently expressed by St. *Paul* in the Warning and Precept that he giveth concerning the same; *Avoid profane Novelties of Words, and Oppositions of Science falsely so called.* Men create to themselves Oppositions, which in truth are not, and fashion and coin them into new Terms, which are so fix'd and unvariable, that whereas the Meaning ought to govern the Term, the Term governs the Meaning.

THERE are also, as of Controversies, so of UNITIES, two Kinds, which may be reckon'd Adulterate. The one, when the Peace is grounded but upon an implicit Ignorance; (for all Colours agree in the Dark :) The other, when it is pieced and patch'd up of Positions diametrically opposite to one another, in Points Fundamental. For Truth and Falshood in such Things, are like the
Iron

Iron and Clay in the Toes of the Image, that *Nebuchadnezzar* saw in a Dream; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

NOW as to the Means of obtaining UNITY, Men must beware, that in the procuring and fencing Religious UNITY, they do not dissolve and demolish the Laws of Charity and Society. There are but two Swords amongst Christians; the Spiritual and Temporal; and both have their due Place and Office, in the Maintenance and Protection of Religion. But we must by no means take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomet's* Sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate Religion by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences; except it be in Cases of Overt-Scandal, and insolent Blasphemy, or practising against the Civil State: much less to nourish Seditions; to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; to put the Sword into the People's Hands, and the like; all which Things manifestly tend to the violating the Majesty of Govern-

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ment, and to the Undermining the Authority of Magistrates; when yet all lawful Power is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash one Table of the Law against the other; and in such Degree to consider Men as Christians, as to seem in the mean time to forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he set before him the Act of *Agamemnon's* sacrificing his own Daughter, exclaims:

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

Such impious Acts Religion cou'd persuade.

Creech.

What would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre of *France*, or the Powder-Treason of *England*? Certainly he would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was. For, as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn, not rashly, but with great Judgment, in Cases of Religion; so it is a Thing monstrous, to put it into the Hands of the People. Let that be left
unto

unto the Anabaptists, and such Furies. Certainly, it was great Blasphemy, when the Devil said; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*: But it would be still greater Blasphemy to personate God, and to bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknes*. And what is it better, to make the Cause of Religion descend, and be carried headlong, to the cruel and execrable Action of murdering Princes, butchery of People, and utter Subversion of States and Government? Surely this looks like bringing down the Holy Ghost, in the Likeness, not of a Dove, but of a Vulture, or Raven: Or setting, out of the Bark of a Christian Church, a Flag of Pirates and Assassins. Wherefore it is just, and the Necessity of the Times requires, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; and all Learnings, whether Religious or Moral, by their *Mercury-Rod*, should Damn and send to Hell for ever, such Facts, and Doctrines, that give any Support or Incouragement to the same, as

hath been long since in good part done. Certainly it were to be wish'd, that in all Counsels concerning Religion, that Counsel of the Apostle might be prefixed; *The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God.* And it was a notable Observation of a very wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, *That those that persuade Pressure and Force of Consciences, cover their own Desires under that Position, and think themselves interested therein.*



IV. Of REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild Justice; which the more it spreads in Human Nature, the more ought severe Laws to weed it out. For the first Injury does but offend the Law; but the Return of that Injury, robs the Law intirely of its Authority.

CERTAINLY, in REVENGING an Injury, a Man is but even with his Enemy;

my; but in Forgiving it, he is Superior: For it is a Prince's Part, to Pardon. And *Solomon*, I am sure, saith: *It is the Glory of a Man, to pass by an Offence.* That which is past, cannot be undone again; and wise Men think it enough to mind Things present, and to come. Therefore they trifle and disturb themselves in vain, that busy themselves about past Matters.

No Man doth a Wrong for the Wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself somewhat of Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour: Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving Himself better than me? And if any Man should do Wrong merely out of Malignity: What then? it is but like the Thorn and Bryar, which prick and scratch, because they follow their Nature.

R E V E N G E is somewhat excusable in those Injuries, for which there is no Law to remedy: But then let a Man take heed, the R E V E N G E be such, as there is no Law to punish: else he doubles his own Punishment, and his Ene-

my makes Advantage. Some, when they take REVENGE; are desirous that the Parties hurt should know from what Quarter the Mischief came upon them! Doubtless this is the more generous Affection: For such seem not to be so much delighted with the bare REVENGE, as in making the Party hurt repent of what he did. But Base and Malicious Natures, are like the Arrow that flieth in the Dark.

COSMUS, Great Duke of *Florence*, had a desperate Fling at Perfidious, or Neglectful Friends: *We read* (says he) *and are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but 'tis no where read, that we are obliged to forgive our Friends.* But the Spirit of *Job* speaks better Things: *Shall we* (says he) *take good at God's Hands, and not sometimes bear evil also?* which is fit to be said of Friends too, in some Proportion.

THIS is most certain, that a Man who studieth REVENGE, frets his own Wounds, which otherwise being left to themselves, would heal and do well.

PUBLICK

PUBLICK REVENGES are, for the most part, Fortunate; as were those for the Death of *Cæsar*; for the Death of *Pertinax*; for the Death of *Henry IV*, King of *France*, and of many more. But in private REVENGES, this by no Means holds. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons in a manner live the Life of Witches, who, as they are destructive to others, so themselves generally come to an unfortunate End.



V. Of ADVERSITY.

IT was a very high and exalted Speech of *Seneca* (after the manner of the *Stoicks*;) *That the good Things which belong to PROSPERITY are to be Wished; but the good Things that belong to ADVERSITY are to be Admired.* Certainly, if that be rightly termed a Miracle, which is above Nature, the greatest Miracles appear in Calamities. There is another Speech of his

yet higher than the former (much too high for an Heathen;) *It is true Greatness, to have the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God.* Surely this Saying would have been more tolerable in Poesy, where such Transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in Effect, the Thing which is figur'd in that strange Fiction of the ancient Poets; which seemeth not to be without Mystery; nay, and to resemble not obscurely the State of a Christian; namely, that of *Hercules*: Who, *when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by *Prometheus* Human Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the Ocean in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher*; lively describing Christian Resolution, that saileth in the frail Bark of the Flesh, through the Waves of the World flowing every way about it.

THE principal Virtue of PROSPERITY, is Temperance; of ADVERSITY, Fortitude; which in Morals is reputed the most heroical Virtue. Again, PRO-

SPERITY

SPERITY belongs to the Blessings of the *Old Testament*; ADVERSITY to the Beatitudes of the *New*, which are both in Reality greater, and carry a clearer Revelation of the Divine Favour. Yet, even in the *Old Testament*, if you listen to *David's* Harp, you'll find more lamentable Airs, than Triumphant ones: And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost, hath more diffusely handled the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*.

PROSPERITY passes not without abundance of Fears and Troubles; ADVERSITY likewise is not without its Comforts and Hopes. Certainly, Virtue bears some Similitude to some precious Odours; which are most fragrant either incens'd or crush'd: For a prosperous Fortune doth best discover Men's Vices; but an adverse one their Virtues.





VI. *Of Simulation and Dis- simulation.*

DISSIMULATION is a sort of Abridgment of Civil Arts, and but a faint kind of Policy or Wisdom. For it requireth a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know when to tell Truth, and to dare to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of Politicians, that are the great Dissemblers.

THIS Difference is well noted in *Tacitus*, between *Cæsar Augustus*, and *Tiberius*. For thus he says of *Livia*, that she *was a happy Composition of the Arts of her Husband, and the Dissimulation of her Son*: Attributing ARTS of Government, or Policy to *Augustus*, and DISSIMULATION to *Tiberius*. The same Historian in another place brings in *Mucianus* encouraging *Vespasian* to take up Arms against *Vitellius*

tellius in these Words: * *We rise not up against the deep Insight and piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor against the extreme cautious old Age of Tiberius.*

Wherefore these Properties of Arts or Policy, and of DISSIMULATION and Closeness, are indeed Habits and Faculties, several, and to be distinguish'd. For if a Man have that happy Acuteness and Penetration of Judgment, as to discern what Things are to be laid open, and what to be kept secret, and what to be shewed at half Lights, with an exact Consideration also of Time and Person; which are indeed Arts of State, and Arts of Life, (as *Tacitus* well calleth them,) to such an one DISSIMULATION is a Hindrance, and a Poorness. But if a Man cannot attain to that Degree of Judgment and Discernment, then it is left him, generally to be close, and a Dissembler. For where a Man cannot chuse, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest

* *Tac. Hist. B. II. Ch. 76.*

wariest way in general; like the going softly by one that cannot well see.

CERTAINLY the ablest Men that ever were, have all had an Openness and Frankness of Dealing, and a Name of Certainty and Veracity; but then they were like Horses well managed, that knew perfectly when to stop, or turn. And at such times when they thought the Case indeed required DISSIMULATION, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former Opinion spread abroad of their good Faith, and clearness of Dealing, made them almost invisible.

THERE are three Degrees of this Hiding and Veiling of a Man's self. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a Man conceals his Thoughts, and ballances himself so even, that no one can easily guess to what Side he inclines. The second, DISSIMULATION in the Negative, when a Man on purpose lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not what he is. And the third SIMULATION, in the Affirmative, when a Man industriously

striously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

FOR the first of these, SECRECY; it is indeed the Virtue of a Confessor. And assuredly, the secret Man heareth many Confessions; for who will open himself to a Blab or a Babler? but if a Man has the Reputation of Secrecy, it inviteth Discovery; as the more close Air sucks in the more open. And as Confession tends to no End relating to worldly Matters, but to the Ease of a Man's Conscience; so certainly Secret Men come to the Knowledge of many Things upon a like Account, whilst Men are desirous not so much to impart, as to discharge their Minds. In few Words, Mysteries are due to the Silent. Besides (to say Truth) Nakedness is uncomely, as well in Mind as in Body; and it adds no small Reverence to Men's Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether open. But Talkers and Futile Persons are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talks what he knows, will also talk what he knows

knows not. Therefore set it down for a Maxim, *That an Habit of Secrecy is a Virtue both Political and Moral.* I may add likewise upon this Head, that it is good, that a Man's Face give his Tongue leave to speak. For the Revealing of a Man's Mind by the Tracts of his Countenance is a great Defect, and a kind of Betraying; and the more so, for that it is many times more marked and believed than a Man's Words.

FOR the Second, which is **DISSIMULATION**, it follows many times upon Secrecy by a kind of Necessity: So that he that will be Secret, must be a Dissembler in some degree, whether he will or no. For Men are too cunning to suffer a Man to keep an indifferent Carriage between both, without swaying the Ballance on either Side. They will so beset him with Questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an obstinate and absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech.

As

As for Equivocations, and oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no Man can be Secret, unless he give himself a little scope of DISSIMULATION, which is as it were but the Skirts or Train of Secresie.

BUT for the third Degree, that is, SIMULATION, and false Profession; that I hold more culpable, and less Politick; unless it be in great and rare Matters. Therefore a general Custom of SIMULATION, is a Vice rising either from a natural Falseness or Fearfulness; or from a Constitution of Mind, that hath some main Faults; which because a Man must needs disguise, it makes him practise SIMULATION in other Things also, lest his Hand should be out of Use. The great Advantages of SIMULATION and DISSIMULATION are Three. First, to lay asleep Opposition, and to surprize. For where a Man's Intentions are published, it is an Alarum to call up all that are against him. The second is, that it leaves a Man at Liberty to retreat, and to draw

draw off from a Business without loss of Reputation. For if a Man engage himself by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a Fall. The Third is, that it opens a way to the Discovery of other Men's Counsels. † For to him that opens himself, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will fairly let him go on, and turn their freedom of Speech to freedom of Thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd Proverb of the *Spaniard*; *Tell a Lye and find a Truth*. As tho' SIMULATION were the Key to unlock Secrets.

THERE are also three Disadvantages of SIMULATION and DISSIMULATION, to set it even. First, that they commonly carry with them a Shew of Fearfulness; which in any Business spoils the Feathers of flying up roundly to the Mark. The Second, that they puzzle

† *Ei qui sua consilia profert, non facile quis se adversarium profiteatur, verum assentabitur potius; & libertatem loquendi in libertatem cogitandi vertet.*

zle and perplex the Conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and make a Man walk almost alone to his own Ends. The Third and greatest is, that they deprive a Man of one of the principal Instruments of Action, which is Trust and Belief. The best Composition and Temperature is, to have OPENNESS in Fame and Opinion, SECRECY in Habit, DISSIMULATION in seasonable Use, and a Power to FEIGN, if there be no Remedy.



VII. *Of PARENTS and* CHILDREN.

THE Joys of PARENTS are secret, and so are their Grievs and Fears. They cannot express the one, and do not care to utter the other. Certainly CHILDREN sweeten human Labours, but they make Misfortunes more bitter.

They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. Perpetuity by Generation is common to Man with Beasts; but the Memory of Merits and Works is peculiar to Men: And surely a Man shall see the noblest Works and Foundations to have proceeded from CHILDLESS Men, who have taken care to express the Images of their Minds, where those of their Bodies have failed: So the Care of Posterity is most in them that have no Posterity.

THEY that are the first Raisers of their Families, are most indulgent towards their CHILDREN: For they look upon them not only as the Continuance of their Species, but of their Works also; and so both CHILDREN and CREATURES.

THE Degrees of Affection in PARENTS towards their several CHILDREN are often unequal, and sometimes unjust, especially in the Mother. Whence *Solomon* says, *A wise Son rejoiceth the Father; but a foolish Son is the Heaviness of his Mother.*

IN

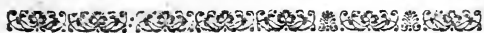
IN a Family that is fruitful and full of CHILDREN, a Man shall sometimes see one or two of the Eldest Respected, and as many of the Youngest Fondled: But in the Midst perhaps some that are as it were forgotten, who nevertheless many Times prove most towardly. The Illiberality of PARENTS in Allowance towards their CHILDREN, is a very mischievous Error; for it makes them base-spirited, given to Shifts and Tricks, delighting in mean Company, and more prone to Luxury when they come to Plenty. And therefore it does best, when PARENTS keep up their Authority with their CHILDREN, but slacken their Purse.

THERE'S a Custom, (I'm sure a foolish one) that has prevail'd, as well with PARENTS as School-masters and Servants, of sowing and breeding Emulations between Brothers during their Childhood; which many Times end in Quarrels when they are Men, and disturb Families.

THE *Italians* make little Difference between CHILDREN and Nephews, or near Kinsfolks; but so they be of the Lump, they care not much, whether they pass through their own Body or no. And to speak the Truth, in Nature 'tis much the same Thing; inso-much that we often see a Nephew resemble an Uncle or a Kinsman more than his own Parent, according as the Blood happens to run.

LET PARENTS take care, whilst their CHILDREN are in their tender Age, what Course of Life to fix them to; for then they are most flexible and pliant. And let them not in this Choice too much regard the Inclination of the CHILDREN themselves; as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, if the Affection or Aptness of the CHILDREN be remarkable towards any Vocation, it is not good to cross Nature or Disposition: But generally the Precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud faciet consuetudo.* “ Chuse the best,
“ Custom

“ Custom will make it pleasant and easy. Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, but seldom or never where the Elder are disinherited.



VIII. *Of* MARRIAGE *and* SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath WIFE and CHILDREN, hath given Hostages to Fortune; for they are Impediments to great Enterprises, whether in the Way of Virtue or Wickedness. Certainly the noblest Works (as we said before) and the greatest Merits to the Publick, have proceeded from the UNMARRIED or Childless Men, who both in Affection and Fortune have married and endowed the Publick. Yet it shou'd seem to stand more to Reason, that those that leave Children should have greatest Care of future Times, unto which they know they must transmit
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their dearest Pledges. Yet there are some who, tho' they have no CHILDREN, are however careless of their Memory, and terminate their Thoughts with their own Lives, and look upon future Times as Impertinency. Nay there are some others that account WIFE and CHILDREN but as Bills of Charges. Further, there are found some foolish covetous Men, that take a Pride in having no CHILDREN, to the end they may be thought so much the richer. They have heard likely some say, *Such an one is a vast rich Man;* and others except to it, *Yes, but he hath a great Charge of Children;* as if this were an Abatement of his Riches.

BUT the most ordinary Cause of a SINGLE LIFE is Liberty; especially in certain self-pleasing and phantastical Minds, which are so exquisitely sensible of every Restraint, that they will go near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. BATCHELORS are best Friends, best Masters, and best Servants also; but not always
best

best Subjects; for they are light to run away: And in Truth almost all Fugitives are of that Condition.

A SINGLE LIFE doth well with Church-men; for Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Pool. For Judges and Magistrates it is a Thing indifferent; for if they are easy and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five Times worse in catching at such Gains, than a WIFE. As for Soldiers, I perceive the Generals in their Harangues to their Armies, commonly put them in Mind of their WIVES and CHILDREN. And I find the despising of MARRIAGE amongst the *Turks* embases the common Soldiery.

CERTAINLY, WIFE and CHILDREN are a kind of Discipline of Humanity: And SINGLE MEN, tho' they are many Times more bountiful and charitable, because their Fortunes are less exhausted; yet on the other Side they are more cruel and hard-hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their Indulgence and Tenderneſs

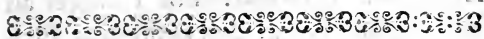
is not so often called upon and excited.

GRAVE Natures, led by Custom, and therefore constant, commonly make fond Husbands; as is said of *Ulysses*, *He preferr'd his Old Woman to Immortality*. Chaste Women are generally proud and froward, as presuming upon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience in the Wife to the Husband, if she think him wise; which she will never do, if she find him jealous.

WIVES are young Men's Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Men's Nurses: So that a Man has a Handle to marry at any Age. But yet he was reputed one of the Wise Men, that made Answer to the Question, *When a Man should marry? A Young Man not yet, an Elderly Man not at all.*

It is often seen, that bad HUSBANDS have good WIVES: Whether it be, that the Price of their HUSBANDS Kindness is enhanc'd by the Interchange; or that the WIVES take a Pride in their Patience.

tience. But this never fails, if the bad HUSBANDS were of their own chusing against their Friends Consent; for in that Case they have always Spirit enough to make good their own Folly.



IX. Of ENVY.

THERE are none of the Affections, which are thought to fascinate or bewitch, besides LOVE and ENVY. They both cause vehement Wishes; they both readily form themselves into Imaginations and Suggestions; and they both mount up easily into the Eye; (especially upon the Presence of the Object;) all which Points conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise the Scripture calls *Envy*, an *Evil Eye*: And the Astrologers call the evil Influences of the Stars, *Evil Aspects*; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in ENVY, and the Operation thereof, a certain Ejaculation, and Irradiation from the

the Eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the Times when the Stroke or Percussion of an envious Eye doth most Hurt, are then particularly when the Party envied is beheld in Glory and Triumph: For this sets an Edge upon ENVY; and besides, at such Times the Spirits of the Person envied come forth most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

BUT leaving these Curiosities (tho' not unworthy to be considered in fit Place) we will speak to these three Points: What Persons are most apt to ENVY: What Persons are most subject to be ENVIED: And what is the Difference between publick and private ENVY.

HE that has no Virtue himself, ENVIES Virtue in another. For Men's Minds either feed upon, and please themselves with their own Good, or others Evil; and he that wants the first Food, will satisfy himself with the second; and he that is out of Hope of arriving at another's Virtue, the same gladly

gladly depresses the other's Fortune, that there may be the less Disparity between them.

A Man that is curious, and a Meddler in other Men's Affairs, is commonly ENVIOUS. For the being very inquisitive about other Men's Matters, can never proceed from this, because all that Ado may be of Use to a Man's own Affairs: Therefore it must needs be that such a Man takes a kind of Theatrical Pleasure in looking upon the Fortunes of others; neither can he, that mindeth his own Business only, find much Matter for ENVY. For ENVY is a gadding Passion, and walks the Streets, and does not keep Home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

MEN of Noble Birth are noted to be ENVIOUS towards New Men. For the Distance is altered; and it is like a Deceit of the Eye, that, when others come on, they seem to go back.

DEFORMED Persons, and Eunuchs, and Old Men, and Bastards, are ENVIOUS. For he that cannot possibly
mend

mend his own Case, will do what he can to impair another's; unless these Defects happen to light upon generous Natures, which endeavour to turn their natural Defects to the Encrease of their Honour; to the End it may be divulg'd, that an Eunuch, or a lame Man, did such great Things, affecting the Honour of a Miracle; which was the Case of *Narfes* the Eunuch, and of *Agésilas*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame Men.

THE Case is much the same in those that rise again after Calamities. For they are commonly angry with the Times, and relish other Men's Calamities as Redemptions of their own Troubles. They that endeavour to excel in Abundance of Things, out of Levity and Vain-Glory, must needs be ENVIOUS. For they every where meet with Objects of ENVY; it being impossible but, in so many Things, some should surpass them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperor, that mortally envied Poets, and Painters, and other Artificers in those Works, wherein

wherein he himself had a Fancy to excell.

LASTLY, Kinsfolks, and Collegues, and those that have been bred together, are apt to ENVY their Equals, when they are Raised. For this upbraids them with their own Fortune, and as it were points at them, and frequently twitches their Memory: Moreover, this Comparison of Fortune falls more into the Observation of others: And ENVY ever reflects and redoubles from Speech and Fame. Whence *Cain's* ENVY towards his Brother *Abel* was the more malignant, because when *Abel's* Sacrifice was better accepted, no Body look'd on. Thus much for those that are apt to ENVY.

As for those that are more or less obnoxious to ENVY: First, Persons of eminent Virtue are less envied when they are advanc'd: For their Promotion seems but due unto them; and no Man envieth the Payment of a Debt, but Liberality beyond Merit. Again, ENVY is always joined with Comparing;
and

and where there is no Comparifon, no ENVY; and therefore Kings are not envied but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is observable, that unworthy Persons are moft Envied at their firft Riling to Honour, and afterwards not fo much: Whereas, contrariwife, Persons of Worth and Merit then firft meet with ENVY, after their Fortunes have continued long. For though their Virtue hold on the fame, yet it has not the fame Luftre; for fresh Men grow up that darken it.

PERSONS of Noble Blood are lefs expos'd to ENVY, when Honours are heaped upon them; for it feems no other than a Debt paid to their Ancestors: Besides, there feems but little added to their Fortune; and ENVY, like the Sun-Beams, beats hotter upon a rifing Ground than upon a Flat. And for the fame Reason, thofe that are advanc'd by Degrees, undergo lefs ENVY than thofe that are advanc'd fuddenly, and *per Saltum*.

THOSE

THOSE that have great Travels, Cares and Perils join'd with their Honours, labour less under ENVY. For Men think that they pay dear for their Honours, and begin sometimes to pity them rather; and Pity ever healeth ENVY. Wherefore you shall observe commonly, that the more deep and sober Sort of Politick Persons, and that glitter in Honour, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; chanting a *Quanta patimur!* Not that they feel it so, but in order to blunt the Edge of ENVY. But this is to be understood of Business that is impos'd upon such Men, not of that which they call unto themselves. For nothing rouses ENVY more than an ambitious and immoderate ingrossing of Business. And nothing, on the other Hand, extinguishes ENVY more than for a Man, in the highest Honours, to draw off nothing from other inferior Officers. For by this Means, so many Ministers as he has, so many Skreens between him and ENVY.

ABOVE

ABOVE all, those stir up most ENVY, who carry the Greatness of their Fortunes in an insolent and proud Manner; being never well but while they are boasting of their Power, either by outward Pomp, or by triumphing over their Adversaries or Competitors that they have overthrown: Whereas, on the other Side, prudent Men love sometimes to do sacrifice to ENVY, in suffering themselves now and then on purpose to be over-born in Things that they have not much at Heart. Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the Carriage of Greatness in an open and undissembled Manner, (so it be without Arrogancy and Vain-Glory) occasions less ENVY than the withdrawing it self craftily, and as it were by Stealth, from Notice. For, in that Course, a Man does nothing but impeach Fortune, as tho' he were conscious of his own want of Worth, and so does but teach others to ENVY him.

To conclude this Part: As we said in the Beginning, that the Act of ENVY had

had somewhat in it of Witchcraft; so there is no other Cure of ENVY but the Cure of Witchcraft; and that is, to remove the Lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another.

FOR which Purpose the wiser Sort of great Persons ever bring in upon the Stage some Body, upon whom to derive the ENVY that would otherwise come upon themselves; throwing it off sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Collegues and Associates, and the like. And for that Turn there are never wanting Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Business, make no Scruple to purchase it at any Rate.

NOW to speak of Publick ENVY. And there is some Good yet in This; whereas in Private ENVY there is none at all. For publick ENVY is a kind of wholesome Ostracism, that eclipseth great Men when they grow too big; and therefore it is a Bridle also to those that are too powerful, to keep them within Bounds.

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THIS

THIS ENVY, which goeth in the modern Languages by the Name of DISCONTENT, (and shall be more fully handled under the Title of SEDITION,) is in Kingdoms and States not unlike to INFECTION. For as INFECTION spreads upon those Parts that are found, and taints them; so also when ENVY is once got into a State, it traduces even the best Actions and Ordinances thereof, and turns them into an ill Odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling plausible and popular Actions with odious ones; for that does but argue Weakness, and Fear of ENVY, which hurts so much the more; as it is likewise usual in INFECTIONS, which, if you are afraid of them, come upon you the sooner.

AND this Publick ENVY seems to bear more upon principal Officers and Ministers, than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But take this as a Rule that seldom fails: If the ENVY upon the Minister be great, when the Cause of it in him is small; or if the ENVY be general

neral in a manner, and takes in all the Ministers of a State; then the ENVY (though secretly) strikes at the King or State it self. And so much for PUBLIC ENVY, or Male-content; and the Difference thereof from PRIVATE ENVY, which we handled in the first Place.

WE will add this also in general touching the Affection of ENVY; that of all the Affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other Affections there is Occasion given but now and then: But it was well said, that ENVY has no Holy-days, because it ever finds Matter to work upon. Whence it is also noted, that LOVE and ENVY make Men pine; which other Affections do not, because they are not continual. ENVY also is the vilest of Affections, and the most depraved; for which Cause it is the proper Attribute of the Devil, who is called *the envious Man, that sow'd Tares amongst the Wheat by Night*; as it always cometh to pass, that ENVY work-

eth subtilly, and in the dark, and to the Prejudice of the best Things, such as is the Wheat.



X. Of LOVE.

THE Stage is more beholden to LOVE, than the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, LOVE is always Matter of Comedy, and now and then of Tragedy too: But in Life it does much Mischief, sometimes like a *Syren*, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe, that amongst all the Great and Illustrious Persons (whereof the Memory remains, either ancient or modern) there is not one that hath been driven to the mad Degree of LOVE: Which shews, that great Spirits and great Business do not admit this weak Passion. You must except, nevertheless, *Mark Antony* the Half-Partner of the Empire of *Rome*, and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*,

cemvir, and great Law-giver amongst the *Romans*: Whereof the Former was indeed a luxurious and voluptuous Man; but the Latter was an austere and wise Man. Whence any one may discern clearly, that LOVE (though rarely) can find Entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if Watch be not well kept. It is an abject and poor-spirited Saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum alter alteri Theatrum sumus*: As if Man, made for the Contemplation of Heaven and heavenly Objects, should do nothing but adore a little Idol, and subject himself, tho' not to the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet to the Eye, which was given undoubtedly for higher Purposes.

It is strange to consider the Excess of this Passion, and how it insults the Nature and true Value of Things, by this only, that the speaking in a perpetual Hyperbole is decent in nothing but in LOVE. Neither does this Hyperbole appear only in the Phrase. For whereas it hath been well said, that the

Arch-Flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Man's self; certainly the LOVER is something more. For there was never Proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself; as the LOVER doth of the Person LOVED. And therefore it was well said, *That to Love, and to be Wise, is scarce possible even to a God.* Neither doth this Weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party LOVED; but to the Person LOVED most of all, unless the LOVE be Reciprocal. For it is a true Rule, that LOVE is ever rewarded either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the more Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loses not only other Things, but it self. As for the other Losses, they are prettily figured in the Fable of the Poets, *That he that preferr'd Helena, lost the Gifts of Juno and Pallas.* For whosoever too much indulges amorous Affections, quits both Riches and Wisdom.

THIS

THIS Passion hath its Floods, at the very Times when the Mind is most soft and weak; that is, in great Prosperity, and great Adversity; (tho' this latter hath perhaps been less observ'd:) Both which Seasons kindle LOVE, and make it more fervent; which proves it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit LOVE, yet make it keep Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs and Actions of Life. For if it interfere once with Business, it troubleth Men's Fortunes, and hinders them from being true to their own Ends.

I know not how, but Martial Men are given to LOVE: I think it is, but as they are given to Wine; for Perils commonly expect to be paid in Pleasures. There is in Man's Nature a secret Inclination and Motion towards LOVE of others; which if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it self towards many, and makes Men become Humane and Charitable, as it is seen sometimes in *Fri-*

ars. Nuptial LOVE makes Mankind, friendly LOVE perfects it; but wanton LOVE corrupts and imbasēs it.



XI. *Of Magistracies and Dignities.*

MEN in GREAT PLACE are thrice Servants; Servants of the Prince or State, Servants of Fame, and Servants of Business. So that they enjoy no manner of Liberty, neither in their Persons, nor in their Actions, nor in their Time. A strange kind of Desire! to covet Power, and to lose Liberty; or to court Power over others, and to devest a Man's self of Power over himself. The Rising unto PLACE is laborious, and by Pains Men come to greater Pains; oftentimes also it is not clear of unworthy Practices. And by Indignities Men come to DIGNITIES. The Standing is slippery, and the Regress is
either

either a Downfal, or at least an Eclipse; and even this is a sad and melancholy Thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, there is no Retiring, tho' a Man would never so fain; neither will Men retire when it were Reason they should: But they continue impatient of a private Life, even when old Age or Infirmary bears hard upon them; which require Ease, and the Shade; like old Townsmen that will be still sitting before the Street-Door, tho' thereby they expose themselves to Scorn.

CERTAINLY, Men in POSTS had need to borrow other Men's Opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they will find no such Thing: But when they think with themselves what other Men think of them, and how gladly they would change Conditions with them, then, and not till then, they are happy as it were by Report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first of all sensible of their
OWN

own Grievs, tho' they are the last of all sensible of their own Faults.

CERTAINLY Men in SUBLIME STATIONS are Strangers to themselves; and whilst they are in the Hurry of Business, they have no Time to tend their Health, either of Body or Soul:

*Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

In PLACE there is great Licence to do both Good and Evil; whereof the latter ought to be reckon'd a Curse: For in Evil, the best Condition is, *not to be willing*; the next, *not to be able*. Certainly Power to oblige is the true and lawful End of Ambition. For good Thoughts, tho' God accept them, yet towards Men are little better than good Dreams, unless they are put in Act; And that cannot be without some publick Place and Power, as the Vantage and commanding Ground.

OBLIGATIONS and good Works are the true Ends of Man's Labours:
And

And a Conſciouſneſs of the ſame, the Accompliſhment of Man's Reſt. For if a Man can be Partaker of God's Theater, he ſhall likewiſe be Partaker of God's Reſt. *Et converſus Deus, ut aſpiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus ſuæ, vidit quod omnia eſſent bona nimis*; and then the Sabbath.

IN the Diſcharge of thy PLACE, ſet before thee the beſt Examples; for Imitation is a Troop of Precepts; and after a Time ſet before thee thine own Example; and examine thy ſelf ſtrictly, whether thou didſt not begin better than thou heldeſt on.

NEGLECT not, on the other hand; the Examples of thoſe that have carried themſelves ill in the ſame PLACE: Not to ſet off thy ſelf, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy ſelf what to avoid. Reform therefore, but without Vaunting, or Scandal of former Times and Perſons; but yet ſet it down as a Rule to thy ſelf, as well to introduce good Precedents, as to follow them. Reduce Things to their firſt Inſtitution; and

and observe well, wherein and how they have degenerated: But yet ask Counsel of both Times; of the Antient Time, that you may know what is best; and of the Latter Time, that you may understand what is fittest. Endeavour to make thy Course Regular, that Men may know before-hand what they may expect: Nevertheless be not too positive and peremptory; and ever when thou recedest from thy Rule, explain thy self well. Preserve steadily the Rights of thy PLACE; but do not therefore lightly move Brangles touching Jurisdiction; and carry it in such Manner as to assume and exercise thy Rights in Silence and *de facto*, rather than raise and debate Questions about them with Noise and Clamour.

PRESERVE likewise the Rights of inferior PLACES, subordinate to you. And think it a greater Honour to direct in chief, than to be busy in all. Embrace, nay Invite such as may help and inform thee touching the Execution of thy Place; and do not drive away those
that

that offer their Service therein as Medlers, but rather incourage and countenance them.

THE Vices in the Exercise of Authority are chiefly Four: Too much DELAY; CORRUPTION; ROUGHNESS; and FACILITY.

FOR DELAYS; give easy Access; keep Times appointed; go through that which is in Hand; and interlace not new Business, but of Necessity.

FOR CORRUPTION; do not only bind thine own Hands, and those of thy Servants, from taking Bribes, but the Hands of Suitors also from offering them. Integrity used, undoubtedly does the first of these: And Integrity given out and professed, and this with a Detestation of Bribery, brings about the latter also. And avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion also. Whosoever are found variable, and change manifestly, without a manifest Cause, give Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore always when you turn from your Opinion that you have declared, or from the Course
you

you have begun, profess the same ingenuously, and withal honestly declare and inculcate the Causes that mov'd you to this; and don't think to be able to steal the Thing. A favourite Servant, and of Interest with his Master, if there be no apparent Cause of Favour, is commonly thought but an oblique Way to Corruption.

FOR ROUGHNESS; it breeds Envy and Ill-will, without making any Advantage thereby; for Severity strikes Fear, but Roughness breeds Hatred. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be Grave, and not Taunting.

As for FACILITY; that is even worse than Bribery: For Bribes are attempted but now and then; but if a Man lie open to Importunity, or be led by idle Respects, he shall never be without them. As *Solomon* saith, *To respect Persons is not good; for such a Man will transgress for a Piece of Bread.* It is most certainly true, that Saying of the Antients, *A Place shews the Man.* And some it shews for the better, others

thers for the worse: *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, says *Tacitus* of *Galba*: On the other hand, the same Author says of *Vespasian*, *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*. Tho' the One is meant by *Tacitus*, of the Art of Governing, the Other of Manners and Affections. It is a most evident Sign of a generous Disposition, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Virtue: And as in Nature, Bodies move violently to their Place, and calmly in their Place; so Virtue in Ambition is violent, in Authority obtain'd, settled and calm.

ALL Rising to the Pinnacle of PROMOTION is by a winding Pair of Stairs; and if Factions prevail, 'twere good to stick to one Party, whilst a Man is climbing to Honour; and to reduce himself to a Balance, when he has attain'd the same.

PRESERVE the Memory of thy PREDECESSOR unhurt; if thou dost not, it is a Debt will be paid thee by thy
SUC-

SUCCESSOR. Treat your Fellows in Office friendlily, and call them in rather when they do not expect it, than exclude them when it were Reason they should be called in. Do not be too mindful of your PLACE, nor make frequent Mention of it in common Discourse, or in private Conversation; but rather let it be said of you, *When he sits in Place he is quite another Man.*



XII. *Of* BOLDNESS.

IT is a trivial Grammar-School Text, but yet worthy a wise Man's Observation: *Demosthenes* being ask'd once, *What was the principal Qualification of an Orator?* Answer'd, ACTION. What next? ACTION. What next again? ACTION. He said it, that knew it best; and yet was not much indebted to Nature, for what he commended.

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A strange Thing surely, that that Part of an Orator, which is but superficial, and to be esteem'd rather the Virtue of a Player, should be placed so high above those nobler Parts of INVENTION, ELOCUTION, and the rest; nay, as tho' it were All in All, should almost alone be cry'd up. But the Reason is plain; for there is in human Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wise; and therefore those Faculties, by which the foolish Part of Men's Minds is taken, are most potent of all. Wonderful like to this, and as it were Parallel, is the Case of BOLDNESS in Civil Business. What first? BOLDNESS. What second and third? BOLDNESS. And yet BOLDNESS is a Child of Ignorance, and of a base Nature, and far inferior to other Parts of Civil Science. But nevertheless it fascinates and captivates those that are either weak in Judgment, or fearful in Nature; and such are the greatest Part of Mankind. Nay it prevails even with Wise Men themselves, when their Minds are weak. Therefore we see it hath had huge Sway

in Popular States ; but with Senates and Princes evidently less. Further, when B O L D P E R S O N S first enter upon A-
ction, they can do more than after-
wards ; for B O L D N E S S is an ill Keeper
of Promise.

C E R T A I N L Y as there step in now
and then Mountebanks, who pretend to
cure the Natural Body ; so also for the
Politick Body there are not wanting
Men, who will undertake even the most
difficult Cures ; who perhaps have been
lucky in some few Experiments, but
having no Notion of the Grounds of
Science, oftner fail. Nay you shall see
a B O L D F E L L O W sometimes do *Ma-
homet's* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the
People believe that he would call a Hill
to him ; and from the Top of it offer
up his Prayers for the Observers of his
Law. The People assembled in great
Numbers : *Mahomet* call'd the Hill to
him again and again ; but when the Hill
stood still, he, nothing abash'd, says, *If
the Hill will not come to Mahomet,*
Mahomet will go to the Hill. So
these Men, when they have taken upon
them-

themselves mighty Matters, and failed most shamefully in them, yet if they have the Perfection of BOLDNESS, they will make a Jest of the Thing, give themselves a Turn, and there's an End.

CERTAINLY, to Men of great Judgment, BOLD Persons are a Sport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar also, BOLDNESS hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subject of Laughter, you need not doubt but great BOLDNESS is seldom without some Absurdity. Nor can there be a pleasanter Sight hardly, than to see a BOLD Fellow out of Countenance. For that puts his Face into a most shrunk and wooden Posture: As needs it must: For in BASHFULNESS the Spirits do a little go and come; but with BOLD Men, upon like Occasion, they stand at a Stay; * Like a Stale at Chess, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a Satyr, than for a serious Observation.

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* Lat. *Ut fit in Schacciae ludo quando non vincitur Collusor, sed torpet tantum motus.*

68 *Of GOODNESS, and*

It is observable, that **BOLDNESS** is ever blind; for it sees no Dangers nor Obstacles: Wherefore it is bad in Counsel, good in Execution. So that, if you would make use of **BOLD** Persons with Safety, you must not give them the Command in Chief; but let them be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Deliberations it is good to have Dangers before our Eyes; but in Execution we should shut our Eyes, unless the Dangers are very great.



XIII. *Of GOODNESS, and* **GOODNESS of Nature.**

I Take **GOODNESS** in this Sense, as it is an Affection that studies the **GOOD** of Men: The same that the *Greeks* call *Philanthropy*. The Word **HUMANITY** (as it is generally used) is a little too light and narrow to express the Force of it. **GOODNESS** I call the **HABIT**, and **GOODNESS of Nature** the **INCLINATION**. This same **GOODNESS**,
of

of all the Virtues and Dignities of the Mind, is undoubtedly the Chief, being a faint kind of Resemblance and Character of the Divine Nature it self; which being banish'd out of the World, the natural Man would be nothing but an unquiet, wicked, wretched Thing, nay, a Kind of mischievous Vermin.

MORAL GOODNESS answers to the Theological Virtue CHARITY; nor does it admit of Excess, but Error it is capable of. An immoderate Desire of Power threw the Angels out of Heaven; an immoderate Desire of Knowledge expell'd Man Paradise: But in CHARITY there is no Excess; nor can either Angel or Man come in Danger by it.

AN Inclination to GOODNESS is deeply rooted in the Nature of Man: Which, being destitute of Matter, or Occasion to exercise it self upon Men, will turn at least to brute Creatures. As it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel and brutal People, who nevertheless are merciful to Beasts, and distribute Alms to Dogs and Birds. Infomuch, as *Bus-*

bequius relates, a *Venetian* Goldsmith residing at *Constantinople*, had much ado to escape the Fury of the People for gagging a long-billed Fowl. Yet this Virtue of GOODNESS, or Charity, has its Errors. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb ; *So good, that he is good for nothing.* And *Nicholas Machiavel* had the Confidence to set down in Writing, and that almost in plain Terms, *That the Christian Faith had given up good and innocent Men in Prey to the Iniquity of Tyrants.* Which he therefore pronounc'd, because there never was Law, Sect, or Opinion, that so immensely extoll'd GOODNESS as the Christian Religion does.

THE better therefore to secure ourselves from the Stroke of Scandal and Danger too in this Point, it will be worth our while to take Knowledge of the Errors that turn us out of the right Way of so excellent an Habit. Seek the GOOD of others so, as not to enslave your self to their Faces or Pleasures : For that is an Argument of Facility and Softness, which takes an honest Mind captive.

captive. Neither cast a Gem to *Æsop's* Cock, who would be better pleas'd, and happier with a Barley-Corn. Let the Example of God in this Matter be your Lesson: *He sendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to shine, upon the Just and Unjust alike*: But yet he does not rain Wealth, nor shine Honours or Virtues upon all Men equally. Common Benefits indeed are to be communicated to all; but peculiar ones to few, and with Choice. And beware, lest in graving the Portraiture, you destroy the Original. For Theology sets up the Love of our selves for the Original, and the Love of our Neighbour for the Copy. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the Poor, and follow me*. But sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, unless thou enter upon such a Vocation, wherein thou canst do as much Good to others with a small Substance as with a great one; otherwise in feeding the Streams thou driest the Fountain. Neither is there only found a Habit of GOODNESS directed by the Rule of right Reason, but in

§2 Of GOODNESS, and

some Men also there is found a natural Disposition and Propensity to it; as contrariwise in some others a natural Malignity. For there are those that in their natural Temper have an Aversion to the Good of others. And as to the lighter Sort of Malignity, that turns to Moroseness, or Perverseness, or an unbridled Humour of Opposing, and shewing himself Difficult in all Things, and the like: But the more grievous and deeper Sort advances to Envy and mere Malice. Such Men, in other Men's Calamities, are, as it were, in Season, and are ever on the loading Part: Not good enough to be compared to the Dogs that licked *Lazarus's* Sores; but to Flies, that are still buzzing upon any Thing that is Raw; *Misanthropes*, that take a Pleasure in bringing Men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the Purpose, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions may well be call'd the Impostumes and Cancers of human Nature. And yet they are the fittest Timber to make Political *Mercuries* of; being like crooked Timber that is good for building
Ships

Ships ordain'd to be tost, but not for Houses that are to stand firm.

THE Parts and Signs of GOODNESS are many. If a Man be Kind and Courteous to Strangers and Foreigners, he proves himself a Citizen of the World, and that his Heart is not like an Island, cut off from other Lands, but like a Continent that joins to them.

IF he be Compassionate to the Afflicted, he shews a noble Heart, and is like the celebrated Tree, that is wounded it self when it gives the Balm.

IF he easily remits Offences, and pardons Faults, it shews his Mind is planted on High above the Shot of Injuries. If he be Thankful for small Benefits, it is an Argument that he values Men's Minds more than their Trinkets. But above all, if he has attain'd the highest pitch of Perfection, that of St. *Paul* the Apostle, of devoting and *anathematizing* himself from CHRIST for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews the nearest Approach to the Divine Nature, and a kind of Conformity with CHRIST himself.



XIV. Of NOBILITY.

LET us speak of NOBILITY, first as it is a Part of a State; next as it is a Condition of PARTICULAR PERSONS. A Monarchy where there is no NOBILITY at all, is ever a pure and absolute Tyranny, as that of the *Turks*. For NOBILITY attempers Sovereignty, and draws the Eyes of the People somewhat aside from the Line Royal. But in a Democracy there is no need of NOBLES; nay that Popular State is much more quiet, and less subject to Factions and Seditions, where there are no Stocks of NOBLES. For there Men's Eyes are upon the Business, not upon the Persons; or if upon the Persons, it is for the Business Sake, as being fittest for it, and not out of any Regard to Flags or Images of Ancestors.

THE *Switzers*, we see, are a flourishing People enough, notwithstanding their
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their Diversity of Religion, and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The Form of Government used in the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries* is surely excellent: For where there is an Equality, both the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more chearful.

A great and potent NOBILITY in a Monarchy, addeth Majesty to the Prince, but diminisheth his Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but depresseth their Fortune. It is well when the NOBLES are not too great for Sovereignty nor for Justice; and yet maintain'd in that Height, that the Insolency of the Multitude may be blunted by their Reverence of them, as by a Bar in the Way, before it pour it self forth upon the Majesty of Kings. On the other hand, a numerous NOBILITY causes Poverty and Inconvenience in a State; for it occasions a vast Expence: And besides, it being a Thing of Necessity, that many of the NOBILITY should
in

in Course of Time fall to Poverty, there follows a kind of Divorce or Disproportion between Honour and Estate.

AS for NOBILITY in PARTICULAR PERSONS, it is certainly a Venerable Thing to see an antient Castle or Building not in the least Decay; or an aged tall Timber-Tree sound and perfect: How much more to behold an Antient NOBLE Family uninjur'd by the Waves and Storms of Time? For New NOBILITY is the Act of Royal Power; but Antient NOBILITY is the pure Act of Time.

THOSE that are first rais'd to a high Pitch of NOBILITY, generally excel their Descendants in the Brightness of their Virtues, but by no Means in Innocence. For there is rarely any Rising to Honours but by a Mixture of good and evil Arts. But it were reasonable, that the Memory of their Virtues should pass down to their Posterity; and That of their Vices dye with themselves.

NOBILITY of Birth commonly abates Industry; and he that is not industrious, envies another's Diligence. Besides, NOBLE Persons can't be advanc'd much further; and he that stands at a Stay whilst others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, NOBILITY very much allays the Envy of others towards them; for this Reason, because NOBLE Men seem born in the Possession of Honours.

CERTAINLY Kings that have a Wife and Able NOBILITY about them, shall find an easier Slide in their Business by employing THEM principally: For People naturally bend to them, as born in some Sort to Command.



XV. *Of* SEDITIONS *and* TROUBLES.

IT greatly concerns the Shepherds of People to know the Prognosticks of State-Tempests; which are then greatest,

est, when Things grow to Equality; as Natural Tempests are greatest about the Æquinox. And as there are certain hollow Blasts of Wind, and secret Swellings of Seas before a Tempest; so are there in States:

— *Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque & operta tu-
mescere bella.* Georg. I. 464, &c.

*The Change of Empires often he declares,
Fierce Tumults, hidden Treasons, Mur-
ders, Wars.* DRYDEN.

LIBELS, and licentious and satyrical Discourses against the State, when they fly about every where, and are frequent; and in like manner false News running up and down to the Disadvantage of the State, and greedily embrac'd by the People, are certainly amongst the Signs of SEDITIONS. *Virgil* giving the Pedigree of Fame, makes her Sister to the Giants:

Illam

*Illam Terram parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Encela-
doque sororem
Progenit.*

*Inrag'd against the Gods, revengeful
Earth
Produc'd her last of the Titanian Birth.*
DRYDEN.

As if FAMES were the Reliques of SEDITIONS past; but they are no less indeed the Preludes of SEDITIONS to come. Howsoever it is rightly noted, that Seditious Tumults and Seditious Fames differ in Effect no more than as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; especially if the Evil come to that Height, that the most laudable Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Content, are taken in ill Sense, and traduc'd. For that shews the Load of the Envy to be great; as *Tacitus* says well: *In a Prince once in Obloquy, do he well, do he ill, all is ill taken*, Hist. I. Ch. 7. Neither doth it follow, that, because
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those Fumes are a Sign of TROUBLES; therefore the suppressing of them with too much Severity should be a Remedy of TROUBLES. For generally they vanish soonest by being despised; and the going about earnestly to check them, does but make them longer liv'd.

ALSO that Kind of Obedience in executing Commands, which *Tacitus* speaks of, is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* Discussing, shifting off, cavilling upon Commands and Directions, what else are they but an Endeavour to shake off the Yoke, and an Assay of Disobedience? Especially if in those Disputings they that are for the Commands, speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against them, audaciously.

ALSO (as *Machiavel* noteth well) when Princes, that ought to carry themselves as common Parents, make themselves a Party, and lean to a Side, it is as when a Boat is overfet by uneven Weight on the one Side: As was well
seen

seen in the Time of *Henry* the Third of *France*. For himself, at first, would be enter'd in the League for the Extirpation of the Protestants; And presently after the same League was turn'd upon the King himself. For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there arise stronger Bands than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a Sign the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the Great Ones in a Government, ought to be as the Motions of the Planets under the *Primum Mobile* (according to the Old Opinion:) which is, That every of them is carried swiftly by the highest Motion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore if the Great Ones and the Nobles, in their own particular Motion, move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberior, quam ut Imperantium meminissent,*

it is a Sign the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who sometimes threatens the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

AGAIN, when any of the four Pillars of Government are shaken or weakned, (which are RELIGION, JUSTICE, COUNSEL, and TREASURE,) then Men had need to pray for Fair Weather. But let us pass over these Prognosticks of SEDITIONS, (concerning which nevertheless more Light may be taken from that which followeth:) And let us say somewhat first of the MATTER of SEDITIONS; then of the MOTIVES of them; and lastly of their REMEDIES.

AS to the MATTER of SEDITIONS, it is a Thing well worth the Considering. For the surest Way to prevent SEDITIONS, (if the Times will bear it) is to take away the MATTER of them. For if there be Fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the Sparks shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The

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MATTER OF SEDITIONS is of two Kinds, MUCH POVERTY, and MUCH DISCONTENT. This is most certain, so many Impair'd Estates and Broken Fortunes, so many Votes for Disturbances. Whence that Observation of *Lycan*, concerning the State of the *Roman* Empire, a little before the Civil War :

*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tem-
pore fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile
Bellum.*

THIS same *Multis utile Bellum*, is an assured Sign of a State disposed to Commotions and TROUBLES. And if this Indigence and broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joined with extreme Want and Poverty in the ordinary People, the Danger is imminent and great. For the Rebellions that arise from the Belly, are the worst. As for DISAFFECTION, and DISCONTENTMENT at the present State of Affairs; these Things surely are in the Politick Body like unto ill Humours in the Natural, which are apt to

gather a preternatural Heat, and to En-
 flame. And let no Prince measure his
 Danger by this, whether the Things
 that alienate the Affections of the Peo-
 ple be just, or unjust. For that were
 to imagine the Vulgar to be too Ratio-
 nal; who often spurn at their own
 Good: Nor yet by this, whether the
 Grievances from whence the Odium
 springs, be great or small. For they
 are the most dangerous DISCONTENT-
 MENTS, where the Fear is greater
 than the Feeling. *Dolendi modus, Ti-
 mendì non item: Grief has Bounds, but
 Fear has none.* Besides, in great Op-
 pressions, the same Things that provoke
 the Patience, do withal break the Cou-
 rage: But in Fears, the Case is other-
 wise. Neither, again, let a Prince or
 State flight a DISAFFECTION, and
 growing ODIUM, because those Dis-
 gusts and Ferments have been either
 frequent, or have been long, and yet
 the State hath receiv'd no Detriment
 thereby. For as it is true, that every
 Vapour does not end in a Storm; so it
 may

may truly be said, on the other side, that Storms, tho' they blow over divers Times, yet gather and fall at last: And according to the *Spanish* Proverb; *The Cord breaks at last by the weakest Pull.*

THE CAUSES of SEDITIONS are these: Innovation in Matters of Religion; Tributes and Taxes; Alteration of Laws and Customs; Violation of Immunities and Privileges; general Oppression; Advancement of unworthy Persons to Honours and Dignities; Foreigners; Dearth; Soldiers uncautiously disbanded; Factions grown desperate; and whatsoever, in fine, offends the People, and unites them, and makes them conspire together in a common Cause.

FOR the REMEDIES, there may be some general Preservatives assign'd, whereof we will speak: But for the just Cure, it must answer to the particular Disease: And so be left to Counsel, rather than Rule.

THE first REMEDY and Prevention of SEDITIONS is this: To remove, by

all possible Means and Diligence, that MATERIAL CAUSE of SEDITIONS, whereof we have spoke; I mean POVERTY, and WANT in the State. To which Purpose serveth the opening and well-ballancing of Trade; the introducing and cherishing of Artisans and Manufactures; the banishing of Sloth and Idleness; the repressing of Luxury and Waste by Sumptuary Laws; the Husbanding and Improvement of the Soil: the regulating the Prices of Things vendible; the moderating of Taxes and Tributes; and the like. In general, Provision should be made, that the Number of People (in Times of Peace I mean, when the Sword mows down none) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which should maintain them. Neither is the POPULATION to be reckoned only by Number: For a smaller Number that spend much, and earn little, wear out a State sooner than a much greater Number, that live lower, and save Mony. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Persons of
emi-

eminent Degree, in an Over-Proportion to the common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity: And so doth likewise a numerous Clergy: For they bring nothing to the Stock. 'Tis the same Thing also, when more are bred Scholars than Civil Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that forasmuch as all Encrease of a State in Wealth must necessarily come from Foreign Nations, (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost:) There are but three Things which one Nation selleth unto another; the natural COMMODITY; the MANUFACTURE; and the VECTURE or CARRIAGE. So that if these three Wheels go right, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-Tide. And that of the Poet many Times cometh to pass: *Materiam superabat opus*; that is, the Manufacture and Carriage is more worth than the Matter, and enriches a State more; as is notably seen in the People of the *Low-Countries*, who have the richest Mines

above Ground of any Nation in the World.

BUT above all Things, good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Monies in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise a State may easily starve in the midst of a great Stock. And Money, like Muck, does not fructify except it be spread. This will be effected chiefly by suppressing, or at least keeping a strait Hand upon those devouring Trades of USURY, INGROSSING, and turning great Estates into PASTURAGE, and the like.

FOR the calming DISCONTENTMENTS, or at least for the removing the Danger of them: There are in every State (as 'tis well known) two Kinds of Subjects; the Nobles, and the Commons. If but any one of these Parties be incens'd, there is no great Danger lurking. For the common People are of flow Motion, if they are not spurr'd on by the Greater Sort. And the Greater Sort are of small Strength, unless the Multitude be of themselves

apt and predispos'd to move. Then is the Danger, when the Greater Sort do but wait for the Troubling of the Waters amongst the Meaner, that so at last they may declare themselves. The Poets feign, that the Gods were in a Conspiracy to bind *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus* with his hundred Hands to come in to his Aid. An Emblem no doubt to warn Monarchs, how safe and wholsome it is for them to gain and secure the good Will of the Common People.

To give moderate Liberty for Grievs and Discontentments to evaporate (so it be without Insolence and Audaciousness) is a very safe Way. For he that turns the Humours back, and makes the Wound bleed inwards, endangers malignant Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

In order to soften imbitter'd and malevolent Spirits, the Part of *Epimetheus* might fitly be transferr'd to *Prometheus*. For there cannot be a better
Re-

Remedy. *Epimetheus*, when he found Evils and Calamities flying abroad, made haste and clapt the Lid upon the Vessel, and kept Hope in the Bottom of it. Certainly, the Politick and Artificial nourishing and casting in of Hopes, and the carrying Men from one Hope to another, is one of the strongest Antidotes against the Poyson of Malevolence.

AND it is a certain Sign of a Wise Government and Prudent Administration, that can hold Men's Hearts by Hopes, when it cannot satisfy them: and where Things are managed in such manner, that no Evil shall appear so imminent but that it hath some Out-let of Hope: Which is the less difficult to do, because it is natural both for particular Persons and Factions to flatter themselves, or at least to vaunt of what they do not believe.

'TIS a common, indeed, but an excellent Point of Caution against the Dangers that DISCONTENTS threaten, *viz.* the Foresight and Prevention, that there

there be no likely or fit Head, where-
unto an angry and imbitter'd People
may resort, and under whose Protection
they may join in a Body. I understand
a fit Head or Leader to be one that is
eminent for Nobility and Reputation,
and that is acceptable and gracious with
the DISCONTENTED Party, and upon
whom they turn their Eyes; and that is
thought also DISCONTENTED in his
own particular. Which kind of Per-
sons are either to be won and reconcil'd
to the State, and that not slightly, but
in a fast and true manner; or to be
fronted and dash'd by some other of the
same Party that may oppose them, and
so divide and cut asunder the Popular
Interest.

'Tis a general Observation, that the
Dividing and Breaking of Factions and
Combinations that set themselves against
the Government, and the making them
fall out with one another, or at least
sowing Distrust among them, is none
of the worst REMEDIES. For a State
is in a desperate Case, if those who are
well-

well-affected to the Government, are full of Discords and Jars; and those that are against it, entire and united.

I have often noted, that witty and sharp Sayings that have fallen from Princes unawares, have given Fire to SEDITIONS. *Cæsar* gave himself a fatal Wound by that Saying: *Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dictare*. For that single Speech cut off all the Hope that Men had entertain'd of his giving up the Dictatorship at one Time or other. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech: *Legi a se Militem, non emi*: For it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donatives. *Probus* likewise by that Speech: *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*. For this was a Speech of Despondency for the Soldiers: And many the like. Surely it is of Concernment to Princes, in tender Matters and ticklish Times, to beware what they say; especially in these concise Sentences, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions.

For

For as for long Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

LASTLY, let Princes, against all Events, have about them some Persons of approv'd Military Valour, for the repressing of SEDITIONS in their first Motions. For without this, there uses to be more Trepidation in the Courts of Princes, upon the first breaking out of TROUBLES, than were fit. And the State is in that kind of Danger that *Tacitus* hints in those Words: *Isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* And such was the Disposition of their Minds, that into so horrible a Treason few only durst enter, many wish'd it, and all were content to suffer it. *Tac. Hist. B. I. Ch. 28.* But such Military Persons had need be singularly faithful, and well reputed of, rather than factious or popular; holding also good Correspondence with the other Great Men in the State: Or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.



XVI. Of ATHEISM.

IT is less difficult to believe the most portentous Stories of the *Alcoran*, the *Talmud*, or the *Legend*, than to believe that this Universal Frame of Nature is without an Intelligent Being. And therefore God never wrought a Miracle to convince ATHEISM; because his ordinary Works are sufficient for that Purpose. Nevertheless it is true, that a little Natural Philosophy inclineth Men to ATHEISM; but Depth in Philosophy bringeth them about to Religion. For the Mind of Man, while it looketh upon Second Causes scattered, may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it proceeds to contemplate the Chain of them linkt and confederate together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay even that School, which is most accused of ATHEISM, if a Man consider the Thing well,

well, doth most clearly demonstrate Religion; that is, the School of *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is abundantly more probable, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable Fifth Essence, duly and eternally placed, should need no God; than that an Army of infinite Atoms and Seeds, casually roaming without Order, should have produced this Orderly and Beautiful Frame of Things without a Divine Marshal.

The Scripture saith: *The Fool hath said in his Heart, there is no God*: It does not say, *The Fool hath thought in his Heart*: So that he rather asserts this within himself, as a Thing he would gladly have, than as what he thoroughly believes and thinks. For no Body believes there is no God, but he for whom it is expedient that there were no God.

CERTAINLY it appears in nothing more, that ATHEISM fits upon the Lip rather than upon the Heart, than by this, that ATHEISTS are often
talking

talking of, and defending their Opinion; as if they disbeliev'd themselves, and would be glad to be upheld and strengthen'd by the Consent of others. Furthermore, you shall sometimes see A T H E I S T S endeavouring to get themselves Disciples, as other Sects do. Nay, what is prodigious strange, some of them have undergone Death and Torture, rather than Recant; whereas if they thought from their Heart, that there was no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselves about that Matter?

EPICURUS is charged, that he did but dissemble for his Credit's sake, when he affirmed, that there were certain Blessed Natures indeed, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having any Concern in the Government of the World. In which Opinion they say he Temporiz'd, when in Truth he thought there was no God. But it seems he is traduced; for his Words are Noble and Divine: *To deny the Gods of the Vulgar is not Profane; but to apply the Opinions*

nions of the Vulgar to the Gods is Profane. Plato himself could have said no more. Whence it appears, that, altho' he had Confidence enough to deny the Divine Administration, yet he had not the Assurance to deny their Nature. The *Indians* of the *West* have Names for their particular GODS, though they have no general Name that signifies GOD: As if the Heathens, for Example, should have had in Use the Names of *Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.* but no Word to express GOD by. Which shews sufficiently, that the most Barbarous People have a Notion of the Thing, though they have not the Latitude and Extent of it. So that against ATHEISTS the greatest Savages take Part with the very Subtilest of the Philosophers. The Contemplative ATHEIST is rare; a *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and a few more; and yet they seem to be more than they are; because all that impugn a received Religion, or Superstition, are by the adverse Party branded with the Name of ATHEISTS.

But the great ATHEISTS indeed are Hypocrites; who are ever handling Holy Things, but without feeling: So as they must needs become cauterized in the End.

THE Causes of ATHEISM are, Divisions in Religion, if they are many; for one Division only encreases the Zeal of both Sides; but many Divisions introduce ATHEISM. Another Cause is, the Scandal of Priests; when it comes to that which St. *Bernard* hints at: *Non est jam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos; quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos.* A Third is, a profane Custom of Sporting and Scoffing in Holy Matters, which, by little and little, wears away the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, Learned Times, especially joined with Peace and Prosperity. For Calamities and Adversity strongly bow Men's Minds to Religion.

THEY that deny a GOD, destroy Man's Nobility. For 'tis most certain, that Man is a-kin to the Beasts, by his Body: And if he be not a-kin to GOD,
by

by his Spirit, he is a very Base and Ignoble Creature. They destroy likewise the Magnanimity and Exaltation of Human Nature. For take Example by a Dog, and mark what a Spirit that Creature assumes, and what a Generosity he puts on, when he finds himself maintained by a Man, who to him is instead of a God, or Better Nature. Which Courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without the Assurance of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So likewise Man, when he rests upon, and places his Hope, in the Divine Protection and Favour, gathers an Assurance and Strength beyond what Human Nature, left to it self, could have obtain'd. Wherefore as ATHEISM is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it deprives Human Nature of the Means to exalt it self above Human Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so is it likewise in Nations. Never was there such a State for Magnanimity as *Rome*. Hear therefore what *Cicero* says: *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos a-*
H 2 *memus,*

memus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, &c. ‘ We may think as
 ‘ well of our selves, Conscript Fathers,
 ‘ as we please, nevertheless we have nei-
 ‘ ther exceeded the *Spaniards* in Num-
 ‘ ber, nor the *Gauls* in Stoutness, nor
 ‘ the *Carthaginians* in Craft, nor the
 ‘ *Grecians* in Arts, nor finally the *Ita-*
 ‘ *lians* and *Latins* themselves in the
 ‘ Natural Sense peculiar to this People
 ‘ and Country; but in Piety and Reli-
 ‘ gion, and in this single Wisdom of
 ‘ discerning clearly, that all Things are
 ‘ directed and govern’d by the over-
 ‘ ruling Providence of the Immortal
 ‘ Gods, herein we have out-gone all
 ‘ Countries and Nations of the World.



XVII. Of SUPERSTITION.

IT were better to have no Belief of
 a God at all, than such a Belief as
 is unworthy of him: For the One is
 In-

Infidelity, the Other Impiety and Contumely. And certainly SUPERSTITION is the Reproach of the Deity. *Plutarch* says well to that Purpose: *Surely, (says he) I had rather a great deal Men should say, there never was any such Man at all as Plutarch; than that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that used to eat and devour his Children as soon as they were born; as the Poets tell of Saturn.* And as the Contumely of SUPERSTITION is greater with regard to God, so also is the Danger of it greater with regard to Men. For ATHEISM does not wholly pull up the Dictates of Sense, nor Philosophy, nor Natural Affection, nor the Laws, nor a Desire of Reputation: all which, though Religion were not, may conduce to an outward Moral Virtue: But SUPERSTITION dismounts all those, and exercises an absolute Tyranny in the Minds of Men. Therefore Atheism never raises Disturbances in States: For it makes Men wary, and to consult their own Security, as look-

ing no farther. Moreover, we see the very Times inclined to Atheism (as those of *Augustus Cæsar*) were peaceable Times. But SUPERSTITION has been the Ruin of divers Kingdoms and States: For it brings in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheres of Government. The Master of SUPERSTITION is the People; and in all SUPERSTITION Wise Men follow Fools; and Arguments submit to Practice, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates in the Council of *Trent*, where the Doctrine of the Schoolmen bore great Sway; *That the Schoolmen were like Astronomers, who have feign'd Eccentric Circles, and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to salve Phenomena, though they knew well enough there were in Reality no such Things:* And in like manner, that the Schoolmen had invented a Number of subtile and intricate AXIOMS and THEOREMS to salve the Practice of the Church.

THE Causes of SUPERSTITION are; Pleasing and Sensual Rites and Ceremonies; Excess of Outward and Phari-
saical Holiness; Over-great Reverence
of Traditions, which cannot but load
the Church; the Stratagems of Prelates
for their own Ambition and Lucre;
the Favouring too much of good Inten-
tions, which openeth the Gate to Con-
ceits and Novelties; the taking an Aim
at Divine Matters by Human, which
cannot but breed a Mixture of incohe-
rent Imaginations; and lastly, Barbarous
Times, especially join'd with Calamities
and Disasters.

SUPERSTITION, without a Veil, is
a deformed Thing; for as it addeth
Deformity to an Ape, to be so like a
Man; so the Similitude of SUPERSTI-
TION to RELIGION, makes it the
more deformed. And as wholesome
Meats corrupt to little Worms; so
good and sound Rites and Forms cor-
rupt into a Number of petty and super-
fluous Observances.

FURTHERMORE, there is a SUPERSTITION sometimes in avoiding SUPERSTITION; when Men think the Way they take so much the purer, by how much the further they turn from the SUPERSTITIONS before receiv'd. Therefore Care should be taken in Reforming Religion (as in purging the Body) that the Good be not taken away with the Bad; which is commonly done, when the People is the Reformer.



XVIII. *Of Travelling into* FOREIGN PARTS.

TRAVELLING, in the Younger Sort, is a part of Education; in the Elder, a part of Experience. He that goes into FOREIGN PARTS before he has made some Entrance into the Language of the Country he goes to,
goes

goes to School, not to TRAVEL. That Young Men TRAVEL under a Tutor, or some experienc'd Servant, I approve well; provided he be such an one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seen and known in the Country where they TRAVEL; what Friendships and Acquaintances are to be contracted; finally, what Studies and Disciplines are in respect there. For otherwise Young Men will TRAVEL hood-wink'd, and look abroad but little.

THE Things to be seen and observ'd are these; the Courts of Princes, especially when they give Audience to Foreign Ambassadors; the Courts of Justice, when Causes are Pleading; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastick; Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments therein extant; the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; the Havens and Harbours; Antiquities and Ruins; Libraries, Colleges; Disputations

tions and Lectures, where any are; Navies and Shipping; Palaces, and Gardens of State and Pleasure near great Cities; Armories; Arsenals; Magazins; Exchanges; Ware-Houses; Exercises of Horsemanship and Fencing; Mustering and Training of Soldiers, with the like; Comedies, such I mean to which the better Sort of People resort; Treasuries of Jewels and Robes; Curiosities and Rarities; and to conclude, whatsoever is famous or memorable in the Places they pass. After all which, the Tutors or Servants aforesaid, ought to make diligent Inquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and the like Shews, Men need not be put in mind of them; yet 'tis certain those Things are not wholly to be neglected.

If you have a Mind, that a Young Man should as it were Epitomize his TRAVELS, and in a short Time gather much, this I would advise you to do. First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goes.

goes. Then he must have with him some Servant or Tutor that knows the Country well, as was likewise said. Let him have by him also some Book or Map of the Country, where he TRAVELS; which will be as a Key to his Inquiries. Let him make a Diary also. Let him not stay long in one City or Town: More or less, as the Place deserves, but by no means long. Nay, whilst he stays in any City or Town, let him change his Lodging often from one Part of the Town to another; for this doubtless is a kind of Load-stone to attract the Acquaintance and Conversation of Abundance of Persons.

LET him sequester himself, for the most Part, from the Company of his Countrymen, and Diet in such Places where the better Sort of Company of the Nation, where he TRAVELS, eat together.

LIKEWISE upon his Removes from one Place to another, let him procure Letters of Recommendation to some Person of Quality residing in the Place
whither

whither he removes; that he may use his Favour and Service in those Things he desireth to see or know. By this means he may quicken the Advantage of TRAVEL.

As for the Acquaintance and Friendships to be made in TRAVEL, the most profitable of all is that of the Secretaries, and intimate Ministers of Ambassadors: For thus, by TRAVELLING in one Country, he will attract and suck the Knowledge and Experience of many.

LET him also visit Persons eminent, in all Kinds, that are of Great Name abroad; that he may be able to mark, how their Face, Aspect, and Lineaments and Motions of their Body, agree with the Report.

As for Quarrels and private Animosities, they are with Care and Diligence to be avoided. They arise most commonly upon the Account of Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware especially, how he keeps Company with Cholerick and Quarrelsome
some

some Persons; for they will engage him in their own Quarrels.

WHEN a TRAVELLER returns Home, let him nevertheless not leave the Countries, where he hath TRAVELLED, altogether behind him; but let him preserve and cultivate the Friendship of those, with whom he has contracted Acquaintance (those I mean that are of most Worth) by Letters. And let his TRAVEL appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him rather consider what to answer advisedly, than be forward to tell Stories. Let this also be apparent in him, that he has not changed his Country-Manners for those of Foreign Parts: But rather that he has interspers'd the Customs of his own Country with some Flowers, as it were, of what he has learn'd Abroad.





XIX. Of EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable State of Mind, doubtless, to have few Things to Desire, and many to Fear: And yet this commonly is the very Case of **KINGS**; who being at the Highest, want Matter of Aspiring; which makes their Minds more languishing: And on the other hand have many Phantasms of Perils and flying Shadows; which makes their Minds the less serene. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture attributes to **KINGS**, *That the King's Heart is inscrutable*. For a Multitude of Jealousies, and the want of some predominant Desire to Command and Marshal the rest, maketh any Man's Heart hard to find, or sound. Hence it comes to pass likewise, that **KINGS**, many Times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon Trifles:
Some-

Sometimes upon Erecting Buildings; sometimes upon Instituting an Order or College; sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person; sometimes upon exercising some Mechanical Art, or Feat of the Hand: As *Nero* studied Playing upon the Harp; *Domitian*, Shooting; *Commodus*, Fencing; *Caracalla*, Chariot-Driving. This may seem incredible to such as are unacquainted with that Axiom; *That the Mind of Man is more cheared and refreshed by Advancing in small Things, than by standing at a Stay in great ones.* We see also that **KINGS**, who, in the Beginning of their **EMPIRE**, have been exceeding Fortunate in Victories, and subduing Provinces, (it being scarce possible for them to make perpetual Advances, but that they must some Time or other meet with Cross, Retrograde Fortune) have, in the End, turn'd Superstitious and Melancholy; as did *Alexander the Great*; *Dioclesian*; and, in our Memory, *Charles the Fifth*; and others. For he that has been always used to go
for-

forward, and meets at last with a Stop, falls out of Favour with himself, and is no longer the Thing he was.

LET us speak now of the true Temperature of EMPIRE; which is a Thing rare and hard to keep. For both Temper and Dis temper consist of Contraries. But it is one Thing to mingle Contraries, another to interchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* is full of excellent Wisdom: *Vespasian* ask'd him, *What was Nero's Overthrow?* He answer'd; *Nero knew how to touch and tune the Harp well; But in Government he sometimes strain'd the Strings too much, sometimes relax'd them too much.* And most certain it is, that nothing destroys Authority so much, as an unequal, and as it were subsultory, and unseasonable Interchange of Power, sometimes wound up too high, sometimes let down too low.

NEVERTHELESS this also is true, that the Wisdom of the Modern Times, as to the Management of Princes Affairs, consists chiefly in this, the casting
about

about for, and the fitting of, Remedies and Escapes of Mischiefs and Dangers, when they are near; rather than the beating off, and the keeping of them aloof by a solid and grounded Course of Wisdom, before they impend. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune. But let Men beware how they neglect the first Materials and Beginnings of Troubles: For no Man can forbid the Spark that kindles the Fire, nor tell from what Quarter it may break forth. The Difficulties and Impediments in the Affairs of Princes are no doubt many and great; but many Times the greatest Impediments are, the Passions and Manners of the Princes themselves. For it is common with Princes, (as *Tacitus* well observes) to will Contraries. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solecism of great Power, to think to command the End, and yet not endure the Means.

KINGS have to deal with their NEIGHBOURS; their WIVES; their

CHILDREN; their PRELATES and CLERGY; their NOBLES; their SECOND NOBLES or GENTLEMEN; their MERCHANTS; their COMMONS; and their MEN OF WAR; and from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

As for their NEIGHBOURS; there can no general Rule be given (the Occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth. It is this, That Princes be perpetually upon the Watch, that none of their Neighbours do overgrow so, (whether by Encrease of Territory, or by Embracing of Trade, or by nearer Approaches, and the like) as to become more able to annoy them, than they were before. And this is generally the Work of Standing Counsels to foresee and hinder. Certainly, during that Triumvirate of KINGS, (*Henry the VIIIth of England, Francis the Ist of France, and Charles the IVth of Spain*) there was such Vigilance among them, that none of the Three could win a Span of Ground, but the other
two

two would straightway balance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a War: And would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which *Guicciardine* saith was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; *Lorenzius de Medices*; and *Ludovicus Sforza*, Potentates, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milan*. Neither is the Opinion of some of the School-men to be receiv'd; *That a War cannot justly be undertaken, but upon a precedent Injury, or Provocation*. For there is no Question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, tho' there be no Blow given, is a competent and lawful Cause of a War.

FOR their WIVES; there are cruel and barbarous Examples of that Kind. *Livia* is infamed for the Poysoning of her Husband; *Roxolana*, *Solyman's* Wife, was the Destruction of that renowned Prince *Mustapha*; and otherwise troubled the Succession, and House of her Husband. *Edward the Second*

of *England*, his Queen, had the principal Hand in the Deposing and Murder of her Husband. This kind of Danger is then chiefly to be feared, when the Queens have Plots for raising their Children by a former Husband; or else that they live in Adultery.

FOR their CHILDREN; the Tragedies likewise occasion'd by them, have been many. And generally, Suspensions taken up by Fathers against their Children have been unfortunate. The Murder of *Mustapha* (that we named before) was so fatal to *Solyman's* Line, that the Succession of the *Turks* from *Solyman*, until this Day, is held suspected, as untrue, and of strange Blood; for that *Solyman* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The Destruction also of *Crispus*, a Young Prince of rare Towardness, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; for both *Constantinus* and *Constance*, his Sons, died violent Deaths; and *Constantius*, his surviving Son, died indeed of Sickness,

ness, but not till *Julian* had taken up Arms against him. The Destruction likewise of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turn'd upon the Father, who died of Grief and Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers have reap'd any good by such Distrusts; except it were, where the Sons were up in open Arms against the Fathers; as was *Selymus* the First, against his Father *Bajazet*; and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

FOR their PRELATES; there is Danger from them also, when they are Great and Proud. As it was in the Times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*; who with their Crofiers did almost try for the Mastery with the King's Sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the First, and *Henry* the Second. But Danger of this Kind from the PRELATES is not much to be fear'd, unless where the

Clergy depend upon the Authority of a Foreign Jurisdiction; or where the Churchmen are elected by the People; and not by the King, or particular Patrons.

FOR their NOBLES; to restrain them, and to keep them at a just Distance as it were from the Royal Throne, is not amiss; but to depress them, may make a KING perhaps more Absolute, but in the mean Time less safe, and less able to perform any Thing that he desires. This I have noted in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, who always depressed his NOBILITY: Whereupon it came to pass, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles. For the NOBILITY, though they continued Loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his Business; so that in Effect he was fain to do all Things himself.

FOR their SECOND NOBLES; there is not much Danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes talk big, but that doth little Hurt; Besides,

Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the **HIGHER NOBILITY**, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, having immediate Authority over the common People, they do best temper Popular Commotions.

FOR their **MERCHANTS**; they are *Vena Porta*; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes, and excessive Imposts, seldom encrease the King's Revenue. For what he wins in the Hundred, he loses in the Shire; the particular Rates being encreased, but the total Bulk of Trading rather decreased.

FOR their **COMMONS**; there is seldom Danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; or where you introduce a Change in point of Religion; or in their antient Customs; or in imposing heavy Taxes; or other Things that curtail their Livelihood.

LASTLY, for their **MEN OF WAR**; it is very dangerous where they are

united into one Body, whether of Army or Garrison. Whereof we see manifest Examples in the *Janizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands of Rome*. But Raising of Men, and Training them to Arms, both in several Places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

PRINCES are like to Heavenly Bodies; which cause good or evil Times by their Influence; and which have much Veneration, but no Rest. All Precepts concerning Kings are comprehended in those two Remembrances: *Remember that thou art a Man*; and, *Remember that thou art a God*, or, *God's Vice-gerent*: The one of which tends to the bridling of their Power; the other, to the ruling of their Will,





XX. Of COUNSEL.

THE greatest Trust between Man and Man, is that of giving COUNSEL. For in every other Sort of Confidence we commit to others, only the Parts of Life; as Lands, Goods, Children, Reputation, and other particular Affairs; but to such as we make our COUNSELLORS, we commit the Whole. By how much the more are those that sustain the Part of COUNSELLORS oblig'd to all Integrity and Sincerity.

EVEN the Wisest Princes need not think it any Diminution of their Authority, to use the COUNSEL of Choice Persons. Nay, GOD himself is not without COUNSEL; but makes it one of the great Names of his BLESSED SON, to be call'd the COUNSELLOR. *Solomon* hath pronounc'd, that *in Counsel is Stability*. Human Affairs, doubtless,

less, will have either their First, or their Second Agitation: If they are not toss'd upon the Arguments of C O U N S E L, they will at least be toss'd upon the Waves of Fortune; and will be full of Inconstancy and Change, doing and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man.

CERTAINLY, *Solomon's* Son found the Force of C O U N S E L, as his Father saw the Necessity and Use of it. For the beloved Kingdom of G O D was first rent and broken by ill C O U N S E L; upon which C O U N S E L there are set, for our Instruction, the two Marks whereby Bad C O U N S E L may for ever be discerned; The one, that it was young C O U N S E L, for the Persons; and the other, that it was violent C O U N S E L, for the Matter.

THE Wisdom of the Antients hath shadowed forth in a Parable, as well the Union, and inseparable Conjunction of C O U N S E L with Kings; as the wise and politique Use thereof to be made by Kings: The one, in that they tell us,
that

that *Jupiter* married *Metis* (which Word signifies COUNSEL:) Whereby they hint, that COUNSEL is instead of a Spouse to Sovereignty. The other, in that which follows: Which is a Fiction to this Effect. They say, that, after *Metis* was married to *Jupiter*, she was with Child by him: But that *Jupiter* waited not till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with Child; and was delivered of *Pallas* Armed, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable has a Secret of EMPIRE couch'd under it: Namely This; After what Manner KINGS ought to carry themselves towards their Cabinet COUNCIL: First, to propose Matters to their Consideration; which is as it were the first Conception: Next, when they have been well-labour'd, moulded, and shap'd in the Womb as it were of their COUNCIL, and are grown ripe, and ready to be brought forth; that then they suffer not their COUNCIL to finish the Resolution, as if the Thing depended upon their Authority,

thority, but take the Matter back into their own Hands, and make it appear to the World, that the final Decrees and Resolves (which because they come forth with Prudence and Power, are resembled to *Pallas ARMED*) proceed from themselves; and issue not only from their Authority, but (the more to raise their Reputation) from their own Head and Ingenuity.

LET us speak now of the INCONVENIENCIES of COUNSEL, and of the REMEDIES thereof. The INCONVENIENCIES that appear in calling and using COUNSEL, are Three. First, that it reveals Affairs, and renders them less secret. Secondly, that it seems to derogate from the Authority of Princes, as if they were less Independent. Thirdly, that there is Danger of Unfaithful COUNSEL, such as tends more to the Good of him that COUNSELS, than of the PRINCE himself. To remedy which INCONVENIENCIES, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practice of *France*, in certain KING'S Times, hath intro-

introduced PRIVY-COUNCILS, commonly called CABINET-COUNCILS; a Remedy worse than the Disease.

AS to SECRECY; Princes are not bound to communicate all Matters with all COUNSELLORS; but may extract and select, as well Persons, as Affairs. Neither is it necessary for a Prince that consulteth what he should do, to declare at the same Time what he will do. But let Princes beware, that the DISCLOSING of their Secrets come not from Themselves. And as for CABINET-COUNCILS, it may be their MOTTO; *Plenus rimarum sum* [*I am very Chinky.*] One futile Person that maketh it his Glory to TELL, will do more Hurt than many, that know it their Duty to CONCEAL. It is true, there happen some Affairs of such a Nature, as to require the utmost Secrecy; such as should hardly go beyond the Knowledge of one or two Persons, besides the KING himself. And those COUNSELS are usually Prosperous: For besides the Secrecy, they generally

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go on steadily, and in one Spirit of Direction, without Contention. But then only this succeeds well, when the KING is a Wise Man, and able to Grind with a Hand-Mill; and those Inward COUNSELLORS had need also be sagacious Men, and, above all Things, true and trusty to the KING's Ends; as it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who imparted his Secrets of Importance to but two Counsellors, *Morton* and *Fox*.

AS for WEAKNING OF AUTHORITY; the Fable sheweth the REMEDY. Nay, the Majesty of KINGS is rather exalted; than diminished, when they sit in the Chair of COUNSEL. Neither was there ever Prince that lost Authority by his COUNCIL; except where there hath happened an Over-greatness in one COUNSELLOR; or an Over-strict Combination in divers: Which two Mischiefs are soon found, and holpen.

FOR the last INCONVENIENCE, *viz.*
That Men will Counsel with an Eye to them-

themselves ; doubtless that Scripture, *He shall not find Faith upon Earth*, is to be understood of the Nature of the Times, and not of all particular Persons. There are Men to be found that are in Nature Faithful, and Sincere, and Plain, and Direct; not Crafty and Involved. Let Princes, above all Things, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, COUNSELLORS are seldom so united, but that one COUNSELLOR keepeth Centinel over another; so that if any one gives COUNSEL out of Faction, or private Ends, it presently comes to the King's Ear. But the best REMEDY is, for Princes to endeavour to know their COUNSELLORS thoroughly; as well as their COUNSELLORS to know them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

But, on the other side, it becomes not COUNSELLORS to be too prying into their Sovereign's Person. For the true Composition of a COUNSELLOR is, rather to be skilful in their Master's

Bu-

Business, than in his Nature. For then he is like to advise directly and honestly, and not to suit himself to his Prince's Humour, in order to Please.

It is of singular Use also to Princes, to take the Opinions of their COUNCIL, both Separately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others, is more Reverend. For in Private, Men are more bold in their own Humours; and in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours: Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferior Sort, rather in Private, to preserve Freedom; of the Greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect.

It is in vain for PRINCES to take COUNSEL concerning THINGS, if they take no COUNSEL likewise concerning PERSONS: For all THINGS are as dead Images; and the Life of the Execution of Affairs consisteth chiefly in the good Choice of PERSONS. Neither is it sufficient to consult concerning PERSONS, *Secundum genera,*

as in an IDEA, or Mathematical Description; to wit, what the Kind and Character of the PERSON ought to be; for the greatest Errors are committed, and the most Judgment is shewn, in the Choice of INDIVIDUALS.

THAT Saying also should not be forgot; *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*; Books don't spare to speak Truth, when Living COUNSELLORS perhaps are apt to slide into Flattery. Therefore it is good to turn over Books much, especially of such Authors as have themselves been at the Helm.

COUNSELS, at this Day, in most Places, are hardly any Thing else but Meetings, and Familiar Conversations; where Matters are rather talkt over, than debated with due Arguments. And they generally run too precipitately to the Order, or Act of COUNCIL. It were better, that, in Causes of Weight, the Matter were propounded one Day, and spoken to the next; *in nocte consilium*. So was it appointed in the Commission of UNION between *England* and

Scotland; which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly.

FOR private Petitions; I approve set Days: For this both gives the Petitioners more Certainty for their Attendance; and it frees and disburdens the more solemn Meetings for Matters of State, that they may be the better able *Hoc agere*; [*to attend the present Business.*]

IN Choice of Committees for ripening Business for the COUNCIL, it is better to chuse indifferent Persons, that incline to neither Side, than to make a kind of Equality, by putting in those that strongly favour both Sides.

I commend also STANDING COMMISSIONS; such, for Instance, as shall separately take care of Trade; the Treasury; War; Suits; particular Provinces: For where there are divers particular COUNSELS, and but one COUNCIL of State (as it is in *Spain*) they are in Effect no more than STANDING COMMISSIONS; save that they have greater Authority.

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LET such as are to inform COUNCILS out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard before COMMITTEES; and then, as Occasion serves, before the COUNCIL. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; for that is to clamour COUNCILS, not to inform them.

A Long Table, and a Square Table, or Seats about the Walls of the COUNCIL-CHAMBER, seem Things of Form, but are Things of Substance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper End, in Effect, sway all the Business; but in the other Form, there is more use of the COUNSELLORS Opinions that sit lower.

A KING, when he presides in COUNCIL, let him beware how he declares his own Opinion too soon: If he does this, the COUNSELLORS will take the Wind of him, and, instead of a Free COUNSEL, will sing him a Song of *Placebo*.



XXI. Of DELAYS.

FORTUNE is not unlike the Market; where many Times (if you can stay a little) the Price will fall. Again, it is sometimes likened to *Sibylla's Offer*; who at first presents the Commodity entire, then consumes some Parts, and still demands the whole Price. For Occasion (as we have it in the common Verse) *turns us a bald Noddle, after she has presented her Locks in Front, and no Hold is taken*: Or at least turns the Handle of the Bottle first to be receiv'd; and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp.

THERE is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no longer light, if they once seem light: And more Dangers have deceiv'd, than have offer'd Violence. Nay, it were better

better to meet some Dangers half-way, as it were, than to be perpetually enquiring into, and watching their Motions and Approaches. For he that over-watches himself, sometimes falls asleep. On the other Side, to be deceiv'd with too long Shadows, (as some have been when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies Back) and so to Shoot off before the Time; or to teach Dangers to come on by over-early Buckling against them, is another Extreme. For the Ripeness, or Unripeness of the Occasion, (as we said) must ever be exactly weighed. And generally, it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his Hundred Eyes; and the Ends to *Briareus* with his Hundred Hands: First to WATCH, and then to SPEED. For the HELMET of *Pluto*, which truly makes the Politick Man Invisible, is SECRECY in Counsel, and CELERITY in Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no SECRECY comparable to CELE-

RITY; like the Motion of a Cannon-Bullet, which flies so swift, that it outruns the Eye.



XXII. *Of CUNNING.*

BY CUNNING we mean, a certain Sinister, and Crooked Wisdom. And certain it is, that there is a great Difference between a CUNNING Man and a WISE Man; not only in Point of Honesty, but also in Point of Ability. There are some that know how to pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some, that have a good Knack at managing Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise weak Men. Again, it is one Thing to understand the Natures and Manners of Persons, and another Thing to understand Business; for many are perfect in Men's Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real Part of Business; which is
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the very Constitution of one, that hath studied Men more than Books. Such Men are fitter for Practice, than for Counsel; and they are good only in their own Walks. Turn them to new Men, and they have lost their Aim; so as the old Rule, to know a Fool from a wise Man, (*Send them both to Strangers, and you shall see;*) doth scarce hold in those Men: And because these CUNNING Men are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, 'twill not be amiss to examine their Shops.

It may be reckon'd a Point of CUNNING, for a Man to observe nicely the Countenance of him with whom he speaks: A Rule which the *Jesuits* also give. For there are many Men, and those Wise too, that have Secret Hearts, and Transparent Countenances. But this should be done with a demure Casting down of the Eye by Turns, as the *Jesuits* also use to do.

ANOTHER Piece of CUNNING is, that, when you desire to obtain any Thing easily, and to have it presently

dispatch'd, you detain, and pre-engage the Party with whom you Treat, by bringing in Discourse about some other Business; lest he should be too much awake to Objections and Scruples. I knew a certain Counsellor and Secretary, that never came to Queen *Elizabeth* with Bills to Sign, but he would first draw her into Discourse about some weighty State-Affairs, to the End that being intent upon these, she might the less mind the Bills.

THE same Effect has a sudden Surprise, *viz.* the moving a Thing, when the Party treated with, is hasting to other Things, and cannot allow Time to consider the Matter accurately.

IF a Man would cross a Business, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, but in such Manner as to destroy the Success of it.

THE Breaking off in the Middle of Discourse, as if a Man took himself up, breeds a greater Appetite in him with
whom

whom you confer, to inquire further. And because that makes a stronger Impression that is got from you by Question, than what you offer of your self; you may lay a Bait for a Question, by putting on an unusual Visage; whereby an Occasion may be given to the other to ask; What that Change of Countenance means; as *Nehemiah* did: *And I had not before that Time been sad before the King.*

IN Things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the Ice by some whose Words are of less Weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice to come in as by Chance upon the other's Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius* the Marriage of *Mesfalina* and *Silius*.

IN Things that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is not amiss to borrow the Name of the World: As if a Man should use some such Form as this: *The World says*; or, *There is a Speech abroad.*

I knew one, that, when he wrote a Letter, would always put that which was most Material in the Postscript, as a Thing that he had almost forgot.

I knew another, that, when he came to have Speech with any one, used to pass over that which he was most concern'd for, and to go away, and to come back again, and then at last to mention the Thing, as if it had almost slipped out of his Mind.

OTHERS procure themselves to be surpriz'd at such a Time as 'tis likely the Party they lay wait for, will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a Paper in their Hand, or doing something contrary to Custom; to the end they may be ask'd about those Things, which in Reality they are desirous of themselves to utter.

It is a good Piece of CUNNING enough, to let fall those Words in a Man's own Name, which he would have another Man lay hold of, and make use of, that thereby he may ensnare and ruin the other.

I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretary's Place in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time; who nevertheless treated one another amicably; for they often conferr'd together about the Business of their Competition. And one of them said, That *to be Secretary in the Declension of a Monarchy*, was a Thing of no small Danger; and that he for his Part did by no means affect an Honour of that Kind. The other straight caught up, in Simplicity of Heart, those Words that were craftily thrown out, and discours'd freely with some of his Friends, that he had no Reason to be ambitious of the Secretary's Place in *the Declension of a Monarchy*. The first made Advantage of this, and took care to have those Words brought to the Queen, as tho' utter'd by his Competitor: Who resenting the Expression, in *the Declension of a Monarchy*, when she thought her self in Vigour, would never after hear of the other's Suit.

THERE is a CUNNING, which we in *England* call, *The Turning Cat in Pan*;

Pan; which is, when that which a Man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and to say Truth, it is not easy when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appear, from which of them it first moved and began.

THERE is an Artifice in Use, of Glancing and Darting at others, by justifying one's self by Negatives: As to say, *This I do not do*; as *Tigellinus* did, Rubbing *Burrhus*; *Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris, simpliciter spectare.* And *Parmeno*, in the EUNUCH: *Atque hæc qui misit, non sibi soli postulat se vivere: Neque pugnas narrat, neque cicatrices suas ostentat, neque tibi obstat, quod Quidam facit, verum ubi, &c.*

SOME have in Readiness so many Tales and Stories, that there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it up in a Tale; whence they both keep themselves more in Guard, as affirming nothing expressly, and cause the Thing it self to be spread with greater Delight.

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IT is a good Point of C U N N I N G, for a Man to shape the Answer he would have, in his own Words and Propositions; for it makes the other Party stick the less.

IT is strange to see how long some Men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and what a Compass they'll fetch; and how many other Matters they'll beat over, that they may come to the Point they aim at. This certainly is a Thing of great Patience, but of much Use.

A N unexpected Bold Question, sometimes surprizes a Man, and lays him open. Something like this happened to a Man, that had changed his Name, and walking in *Paul's*, another came behind him, and call'd him by his true Name; whereat immediately he looked back.

B U T these small Wares, and petty Points of C U N N I N G, are infinite. And it were a good Deed, to make a large List of them; because nothing does more Hurt in a State, than that Cunning Men pass for Wise. B U T

BUT certainly some there are, that know the Periods and Pauses of Business, that are not able to enter into the Heart and Bottom of it: Like Houses, that have convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you shall see such Men find out pretty Issues or Out-lets in the Conclusion of Deliberations, but are no ways able to examine or debate Matters. And yet many Times they take Advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits fitter to Direct and Determine, than to Dispute. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say) *putting Tricks upon them*, than upon the Soundness of their own Proceedings. But *Solomon* saith; *The Wisdom of the Prudent is to understand his Way; but the Folly of Fools is Deceit: Prov.* 14. 8.





XXIII. *Of WISDOM for a* MAN'S SELF.

AN Ant is a WISE Creature for it self; but it is a base Thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly Men that are too great Lovers of THEMSELVES, damage the Publick. Divide therefore with Reason between SELF-LOVE, and the LOVE OF THE PUBLICK: And be thy own best Friend, in such Sort as not to be injurious to others; especially to thy King or Country. It is a poor Center of a Man's Actions, HIMSELF. It is right Earth. For the Earth stands fast upon its own Center; whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the Heavens, move upon the Center of another, which they benefit.

THE referring of all to a MAN'S SELF is more tolerable in Sovereign Princes;

Princes; because they are more than THEMSELVES; and the Good or Evil they do extends to the Publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a Man's Hands, he crooketh them to his own Ends; which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or the State. Therefore let Princes and States chuse such Ministers and Servants, as have not this Mark upon them; unless they mean their own Affairs should be made but an Accessary. That which maketh this Effect the more pernicious, is this; that all Proportion is lost. For it were Disproportion enough for the Servant's Good, to be preferred before the Master's; but yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant shall carry Things against a great Good of the Master's. And yet that is the Case of bad Officers; as Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants; who set a Bias upon their

their Bowl, of their own petty Ends and Envies, to the Overthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affairs. And for the most Part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Model of their own Fortune; but the Hurt they give, in Exchange for that Good, is after the Model of their Masters Fortune. For the Nature of these SELF-LOVERS is such, that they will set a Neighbour's House on Fire, if it be but to roast their Eggs. And yet such Servants many Times hold Credit with their Masters; because their Study is but to please Them, and profit THEMSELVES; and for either Respect they will betray the Fortune of their Master.

WISDOM for a MAN'S SELF only, is, in many Branches thereof, a most depraved Thing. It may be compared to the WISDOM of Rats, that will be sure to leave a House a little before it falls: To the WISDOM of the Fox, that thrusts the Badger out of the House that he dug for himself, not for him: To the WISDOM of the Crocodile,

that sheds Tears, when he would Devour. But this is particularly to be observ'd; that those Sort of Men, who (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are *Lovers of themselves without a Rival*; are many Times Unfortunate: And whereas they have, all their Life, Sacrificed to THEMSELVES, in the End they Sacrifice to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose Wings they thought they had clipt by that notable SELF-WISDOM of theirs.



XXIV. *Of* INNOVATIONS.

AS Living Creatures, at their first Births, are ill shapen: So are all INNOVATIONS, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than their Successors: So the first Patterns and Precedents of Things (when they are happily cast) are generally beyond

yond the Power of the succeeding Age to Imitate. For Ill, in the perverted Nature of Man, has a NATURAL Motion; which grows stronger and stronger by Continuance: But Good, as in all FORCED Motions, is strongest at first.

CERTAINLY, every Medicine is an INNOVATION; and he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest INNOVATOR: And if Time, of Course, alter Things for the worse; and Wisdom and Counsel shall not labour to alter them for the better; what will be the End? It must be granted, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit for the Times; and that those Things, which have long gone together, are joined to one another by a Kind of Confederacy; whereas, on the other Side, New Things do not so well agree with Old: For though they help by their Utility, yet they trouble by their Novelty and Inconformity. Besides, they are like Strangers

and Foreigners, more Admired, and less Loved. All this is true indeed, if Time stood still; which contrariwise runs round incessantly in a Circle. And hence it is, that a stiff and froward Retention of Custom is as turbulent a Thing as an INNOVATION; and they that reverence antient Usages too superstitiously, are the Scorn of the present Age. It were prudent therefore, if Men in their INNOVATIONS would follow the Example of Time it self; for Time INNOVATES more than any Thing; but does it quietly, and by Degrees scarce to be perceived. For this is sure, that whatsoever is New, comes unexpected and unlooked for; and adds something to one, and takes from another: Now he that is bettered by an INNOVATION, thanks Fortune, and the Time; but he that is hurt, accuses the Author of the INNOVATION of doing him wrong.

It is good also, not to try new Experiments in Bodies Politick; except the Necessity be urgent, or the Utility
evi-

evident : And to take good care, that it be the Desire of Reformation that draweth on the Change ; and not the Desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. Furthermore, all NOVELTY, though perhaps it must not be rejected, yet ought ever to be held suspected. And lastly, as the Scripture directs, *Let us make a stand upon the antient Ways, and then look about us and discover, what is the straight and right Way, and so walk in it.*



XXV. Of DISPATCH.

OVER-GREAT and Affected DISPATCH is generally the Ruin of Business. It is like that, which the Physicians call PREDIGESTION, or HASTY-DIGESTION; which is wont to fill the Body with Crudities, and secrete Seeds of Diseases. Therefore measure not DISPATCH by the Times of

fitting to Business, but by the Advancement of the Business it self. And as in a Race, it is not the large Stride, or high Lift of the Feet, but the low and even Motion of the same, that makes the Speed: So in Business, the keeping close to the Matter, and not greedily taking too much of it at one Time, procureth DISPATCH.

It is the only Concern of some, to seem to have done much in a little Time; or to contrive some false Periods of Business, to the End they may be thought MEN OF DISPATCH. But it is one Thing to Abbreviate by Contracting, another by Cutting off: And Business so handled, that is, at several Sitzings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in a very unsteady manner. I knew a WISE MAN, that had it always in his Mouth, when he saw Men hasten too much to a Conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

ON the other Side, TRUE DISPATCH is a precious Thing. For Time
is

is the Measure of Business, as Money is of Wares. Therefore Business is bought at a dear Rate, where there is too much Delay. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of small DISPATCH; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spain:* then, I'm sure, 'twill be long a coming.

GIVE fair Hearing to those that are appointed to give the first Information in Business; and rather direct them in the Beginning, than interrupt them often in the Thread of their Speeches: For he that is put out of the Order he prescribed himself, will go forward and backward, and become more prolix, whilst he recollects his Memory, than he would have been otherwise, if he had gone on in his own Method. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Orator.

REPETITIONS are commonly Loss of Time: Nevertheless there is no such Gain of Time, as to repeat often the

STATE of the QUESTION: For it causes many a frivolous Speech to miscarry in the very Birth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for DISPATCH, as a long Robe trailing upon the Ground is for a Race. Prefaces, fine Transitions, Apologies, and other Speeches referring to the Person of the Speaker, are great Wasters of Time; and tho' they may seem to proceed from Modesty, yet in Truth their Aim is Glory. Yet beware of falling point-blank upon the Matter at first, when there is found any Impediment or Obstruction in Men's Wills; for Pre-occupation of Mind ever requireth Preface of Speech; like a Fomentation before-hand, to make the Unguent enter the more kindly.

ABOVE all Things, Order, and Distribution, and an apt Singling out of Parts, is the Life as it were of DISPATCH; yet so as that the Distribution be not too subtil. For he that does not Divide, will never enter cleverly into Business; and he that Divideth too much, will scarce come out of it clearly.

ly. To make a prudent Choice of Times, saves Abundance of Time; and an unreasonable Motion is but beating the Air, and mispending Time. There are three Parts of Business: The PREPARATION; the DEBATE or EXAMINATION; and the PERFECTION. Whereof (if you look for Expedition) let the Middlemost be the Work of Many; but the First and the Last the Work of Few.

To (a) enter upon Business from somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part promote DISPATCH: For tho' it should happen to be wholly rejected, yet that NEGATIVE is more pregnant of Direction, than an INDEFINITE; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

(a) Lat. *Procedendi in negotiis initium sumere ab iis, quæ scripto comprehensa sunt, plerumque expeditionem promovet: Licet enim contigerit illa in totum rejici, nihilominus Negativa illa plus valebit ad consilia educenda, quam Indefinita; Quemadmodum, &c.*

XXVI. *Of Seeming WISE.*

IT is a received Opinion, that the *French* are Wiser than they seem; and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between Nations; it is certainly so between Man and Man. For as the APOSTLE speaketh of Godliness, *Having a Shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof*: So certainly there are some to be found, that TRIFLE SOLEMNLY, being by no means Wise Men; *Magno conatu nugas*. Surely it is a ridiculous Thing to Persons of Judgment; and fit for a Satyr, to see into how many Shapes these Affectators will turn themselves, and what Prospectives as it were they use, to make SUPERFICIES seem BODY, which hath Depth and Bulk.

SOME are so Close and Reserved, that they will not shew their Wares but by a half Light; and would always
seem

seem to keep back somewhat, and to HINT, rather than to SPEAK: And when they know within themselves, that they are speaking of that they do not well know; they would nevertheless seem to others to know that which they cannot safely speak.

SOME help themselves with Countenance and Gesture, and are Wise as it were by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*

OTHERS think to Carry it, by speaking a great Word, and that in a peremptory Stile: And so on they go, and take for granted that, which they cannot make good.

OTHERS, whatsoever is above their Capacity, will seem to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent or Curious; and so would pass their Ignorance upon us for exact Judgment.

OTHERS

OTHERS are ever ready with some Distinction; and for the most Part by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, slide over the Matter. Of which sort of Persons *A. Gellius* saith: *A half-witted Man, that breaks the Weight of Things by the Niceties of Words.* Of which Kind also, *Plato* in his *PROTAGORAS*, by way of Banter, brings in *Prodicus* making a Speech that consisteth of Distinctions from the Beginning to the End.

GENERALLY, such Men in all Deliberations love to be of the Negative Side, and affect a Credit by starting and foretelling Impediments and Difficulties; for when a Proposition is utterly rejected, there is an End of it; but if it be allowed, it requireth a new Work: Which spurious Kind of Wisdom is the very Bane of Business.

To conclude, there is no deeply indebted Merchant, nor secret Bankrupt, hath so many Tricks to make a Shew of Wealth, as these empty Persons have, to uphold the Credit of their Sufficiency.

cy. Certainly, Men of such a Standard of Wisdom, may easily get the Vogue of the Common People: But let no Man chuse them for weighty Employments: For doubtless you had better take for Business a Man somewhat Absurd, than such a nauseous Formalist.



XXVII. Of FRIENDSHIP.

IT had been very hard, even for him that spake it, to have put more Truth and Untruth together, and in few Words too, than in that Sentence: *Whosoever is delighted with Solitude, is either a wild Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret Hatred of, or an Aversion to, Society in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast: But it is most untrue, on the other Side, that it should have any Character at all of the Divine Nature; unless it proceed not barely from a Love
of

of SOLITUDE, but from a Desire of sequestering a Man's self, in order to attend higher Contemplations: Such as is found to have been, but affectedly and feignedly, in some of the Heathen; as in *Epimenides the Candian*, *Numa the Roman*, *Empedocles the Sicilian*, and *Apollonius of Tyana*: And truly and really in divers of the Antient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church.

BUT little do Men perceive in the mean Time what that is which is called SOLITUDE, and what are the Limits thereof. For a Crowd must not be called Company; and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; and Talk, where there is no Love, is no better than a TINKLING CYMBAL. The Latin *Adagy* hints as much: *A great City is a great Wilderiness*; because in great TOWNS FRIENDS and Acquaintance are remotely dispersed, so that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in less Neighbourhoods. But we may go further still, and affirm most truly, that it is a meer and miserable So-

SOLITUDE, to want true FRIENDS; without which the World is but a Wilderness: And even in this Sense also of SOLITUDE, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature is averse to FRIENDSHIP, takes this Disposition from the Beast, and not from the Man.

THE greatest FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP is the Ease and Discharge of the Anxiety and Swellings of the Heart, which the Passions, of what Kind soever, are wont to cause. We know, that those Diseases in the Body are most Dangerous, which arise from Stoppages and Suffocations: And it is not much otherwise in Diseases of the Soul. You may take Sarza to open the Liver; prepar'd Steel to open the Spleen; Flower of Sulphur for the Lungs; Castor for the Brain: But there is no Opening Medicine found for the Obstructions of the Heart, besides a FAITHFUL FRIEND; to whom you may impart Grievs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspensions, Cares, Counsels, and in short whatsoever lies upon the Heart, under the Seal as it were of a Civil Confession.

It

IT is strange to consider, how high a Rate the Greatest Princes and Monarchs set upon this FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP, of which we are speaking: So great, that they purchase it sometimes at the Hazard both of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the Distance and Sublimity of their Fortune, from that of their Servants and Subjects, cannot gather this FRUIT, unless perchance (to gather it the better) they raise and advance some Persons, to be as it were Companions and Equals to themselves: Which, many Times, is not without Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the Name of FAVOURITES, or PRIVADO's; as if it were a Matter of Grace or Conversation: But the *Roman* Name better expresses the true Use and Cause thereof; naming them *Participes Curarum*; (*Partakers of their Cares*) For this is That which ties the Knot. And we see plainly this hath been done, not by Soft and Weak Princes only, but by the Wisest and most Poli-

Politick that ever Reigned: Who have often joined to themselves some of their Servants; whom both themselves have called FRIENDS, and allowed others to honour them with that Name: Using no other Word, than what is received between private Men.

L. SYLLA, after he had seiz'd the Roman Empire, rais'd *Pompey* (after Surnamed the GREAT) to that Height, that *Pompey* gave himself Airs as if he were now become *Sylla's* Superior. For when he had made a Friend of his Consul, in Opposition to *Sylla*; and that *Sylla* took it amiss, and spoke some Words of high Resentment; *Pompey* could not brook this, but in express Words almost, bad him be quiet; adding, *that more Men adored the Sun-Rising than the Sun-Setting*. With *Julius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had that Interest, that *Cæsar* made him Heir in Remainder after his Nephew *Octavius*. And this was the Man that lur'd *Cæsar* to his Death. For when *Cæsar* intended to have discharg'd the Senate.

in regard of some ill Prefages (especially a Dream of his Wife *Calpurnia*) *Brutus* lifting him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, told him, he hoped *he did not value a Senate so little, as to think of dissolving it, till such Time as his Wife had dreamt a better Dream.* And he seems indeed to have been so highly in Favour with *Cæsar*, that *Antony*, in a Letter, which is recited *Verbatim* by *Cicero* in one of his *PHILIPPICS*, called him *WITCH*; as if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (tho' of mean Birth) to that Height, that when he consulted with *Mæcenæ*s about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenæ*s took the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either make Agrippa his Son-in-Law, or take away his Life; That there was no Third Way, since he had made him so Great.*

TIBERIUS Cæsar advanc'd *Sejanus* to such Honours, that they two were reckon'd as a Pair of *FRIENDS*: *Tiberius*, 'tis certain, in a Letter to him, writes thus: *These Things, in re-*
gard

gard of our Friendship, I have not concealed from you. And the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to FRIENDSHIP, as to a Goddess, in respect of the great Dearness of FRIENDSHIP between them.

AN Instance of the like, or even greater FRIENDSHIP than that, is seen between *Septimius Severus* and *Plantianus*. For he forced his Eldest Son to marry *Plantianus's* Daughter: And he often honoured *Plantianus*, even to the Affronting of his Son. Nay more, he wrote to the Senate in these Words: *I love the Man so well, that I wish he may survive me.* Now had these Princes been like a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, this might have been attributed to an immense Goodness of Nature in them: But being Men so Wise, and of such Strength and Severity of Mind, and such mighty Lovers of themselves; it proves clearly, that they look'd upon their own Happiness (tho' greater had scarce ever happened to Mortal Men) as maimed and defective,

unless by such FRIENDSHIPS it had become Entire and Perfect. And yet, which is more, they were Princes, that had Wives, Sons, Nephews; and yet all these Things could not supply the Comforts of FRIENDSHIP.

IT is by no Means to be forgot, the Observation that *Commines* hath left of his first Master, Duke *Charles*, Sur-named the *Hardy*; namely, that he would communicate his Secrets with no one; and least of all, those Secrets that troubled him most. And he goes on and says; That that Closeness, in his latter Years, did a little impair and perish his Understanding. Surely *Commines* might, if he had pleas'd, have made the same Judgment of his Second Master, *Lewis* the *Eleventh*; whose Closeness was his Torment. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but excellent: *Eat not thy Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want FRIENDS to impart their Thoughts and Anxieties freely to, are CANNIBALS of their own HEARTS.

BUT

BUT this is very wonderful, (with which I will conclude my Discourse, concerning the first FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP) namely, that this communicating of a Man's self to his FRIEND, works two contrary Effects; for it redoubles Joys, and cuts Sorrows in half. For no Man imparts his Joys to a FRIEND, but he joyeth the more: And no one communicates his Sorrows to a FRIEND, but he sorroweth the less. So that in Truth it has the same Virtue and Operation upon a Man's Mind, as the Alchymists use to attribute to their STONE upon Man's Body; that is, to work contrary Effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without calling in the Aid of Chymists, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinary Course of Nature. For in Bodies, Union cherishes and strengthens all natural Actions; and, on the other Side, weakens and dulls any violent Impression: And even so it is in Minds.

THE Second FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP, is healthful to the Understanding, as the First, to the Affections. For FRIENDSHIP induces a Serenity in the Affections from Storms and Tempests: But in the Understanding it even drives away Darkness, and infuses Light, by dissipating Confusion of Thought. Nor is this to be understood of FAITHFUL COUNSEL only, such as FRIENDS use to give; but before we speak of that, certain it is, that whosoever has his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wit and Understanding clear up as it were into Day-Light, by communicating Counsels, and discoursing with another. For he tosses his Thoughts more easily, and turns them all Ways; he marshals them more orderly; he looks them as it were in the Face, when they are turned into Words: Finally, he becomes Wiser than himself: And that more by one Hour's Discourse, than by a whole Day's Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*; *That Conference was like*

like Tapestry, opened and unfolded, whereby the Figures appear distinctly; whereas Thoughts, like Packs, are complicated and involv'd.

NOR is this second FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP (which consists in opening the Obstructions of the Understanding) restrained only to such FRIENDS as are ABLE Counsellors, (they doubtless are best;) but even setting that aside, a Man certainly learns of himself, and brings his own Thoughts to Light; and whets his Wit as against a Stone, which it self cuts not. In a Word, a Man had better impart himself to a Statue or Picture, than smother his Thoughts in Silence.

Add now (to make our Discourse concerning this Second FRUIT of FRIENDSHIP more complete) the Thing but now mentioned; which is more obvious, and falls within vulgar Observation; I mean *Faithful Counsel from a FRIEND*. *Heraclitus* asserts well in one of his *Ænigma's*; *That dry Light is best*. And most certain it is,

that the Light which proceeds from another by way of Counsel, is drier and purer than that, which issues from a Man's own Judgment and Understanding; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections. So that there is as much Difference between the Counsel of a FRIEND, and that a Man gives himself, as between the Counsel of a FRIEND and a Flatterer. For there is not a more deadly Flatterer than a Man's self; nor, again, a more Sovereign Remedy against Flattery of a Man's self, than the Liberty of a FRIEND.

COUNSEL is of two Sorts: The one concerning MANNERS; the other concerning BUSINESS. For the First; The best Preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the Admonition of a Faithful FRIEND. The calling of a Man's self to a strict Account, is a Medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive. Reading Books of Morality is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our own Defects in Others, as in a Looking-glass, sometimes, as it happens
also

also in Glasses, does not answer exactly. But (as I said) the best Medicine, (best to take, and best to work) is the Admonition of a FRIEND.

It is strange to behold, what gross Errors and extreme Absurdities, some (especially of the greater Sort) do commit, for want of a FRIEND to tell them of them, to the great Damage both of their Reputation and Fortune. For they are (as the Apostle St. James says) *as Men that look into a Glass, and presently forget their own Shape and Favour.*

As for Business, 'tis an old Saying, *That two Eyes see better than one.* It is also well said, *That a Looker-on often sees more than a Player:* Furthermore, a Musket is shot off with more Certainty upon a Rest than upon the Arm; tho' some are so highly conceited, as to think themselves All in All. But, whatever may be said to the contrary, 'tis certain that Counsel directs and establishes Business.

Now

Now if any think with himself, to take Counsel indeed, but it shall be by Pieces; asking Counsel in one Business of one Man, and in another Business of another Man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two Dangers: One, that he will scarce meet with faithful Counsel; (for it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire FRIEND, to have Counsel given that is not bowed and crooked to some Ends which he hath that giveth it:) The other, that the Counsels coming from divers Persons, (tho' given honestly, and with good Intention) will be often hurtful and unsafe; and mixt and made up partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you should send for a Physician, that is thought good for the Cure of the Disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your Condition; and therefore may put you in a Way for present Cure, but with Danger of prejudicing your Health in the main; and so cure
the

the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a FRIEND, who is perfectly acquainted with a Man's Estate, will beware, by furthering any present Business, how he dashes upon a future Inconvenience. And therefore (as was said) I would not advise you to rest upon SCATTERED COUNSELS: For they will rather distract and mis-lead, than direct and settle.

AFTER these two Noble FRUITS of FRIENDSHIP, (I mean *Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgment*) follows the last, which is like the Pomegranate; full of many Kernels: I mean Aid, and bearing a Part in the Actions and Occasions of Life.

AND here, the most expeditious Way of representing to the Life the manifold Use of FRIENDSHIP, is to look about and see how many Things there are, which a Man cannot handsomely do himself: And then it will appear, that it was not hyperbolical, but a sober Speech of the
An-

Antients, to say; *That a Friend is a Second Self*: Since, if a Man considers the Thing truly, the Offices of a FRIEND surpass a Man's own Strength. Men are mortal; and die many Times in the midst of certain Works, which they have principally at Heart: As in the marrying of a Son; the consummating of their Attempts and Desires, and the like. Now if a Man has a Faithful FRIEND, he has a Security given him, that those Things will be finish'd by the Care and Labour of his FRIEND, after his Death: So that an Untimely Death is scarce any Prejudice; and a Man has (to speak after the manner of *Farmers*) not one, but two Lives in his Desires. A Man is confined to a Body, and that Body confined to a Place; but where FRIENDSHIP is at Hand, all Offices of Life are granted to him, and his Deputy.

How many Things are there, which a Man cannot do himself with any Grace or Decorum? He cannot recite his own Merits with Modesty; much less

less extol them: A Man cannot brook to Supplicate or Beg. And there's an Infinity of Things of this Kind. But these Things, and the like, are Graceful enough in a FRIEND'S Mouth, which are Blushing in a Man's Own. Again, a Man's Person or Character carries with it many Concomitants, which he cannot put off. A Man can't speak to a Son, but as a Father; to a Wife, but as a Husband; to an Enemy, but with a Reserve; whereas 'tis allow'd a FRIEND to speak, as the Case requires; nor is he tied up to any Regards of Person or Character. But to enumerate these Things were endless. I have given the Rule: Where a Man is not able to act his own Part in the Play, if he has not a FRIEND, 'tis better for him to quit the Stage.





XXVIII. Of REGIMENT of HEALTH.

IN the ordering of HEALTH, there is a Wisdom to be found beyond the Rules of Physick: A Man's own Observation, what he finds Good of, and what he finds Hurt of, is the best Physick to preserve HEALTH. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *I have found Hurt by this, therefore I will not continue it*; than this, *I find no Offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For Strength of Nature in Youth covers many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discern the coming on of Years, and venture not to continue the same Things always: For there is no defying Age.

BEWARE of a sudden Change in any principal Point of REGIMENT; and if Necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it.

For.

For it is a Secret both in Nature and Politicks; *That it is safer to change many Things, than One great one.* Examine thy Customs of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like: And try, in any Thing thou judgest hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; yet so as to return to it again, if thou findest any Inconvenience by the Change: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally good and wholesome, from that which suits thy particular Constitution.

To be free-minded and chearfully-disposed at Hours of Meat, Sleep, and Exercise, is one of the best Precepts for Prolongation of Life. As for the Passions of the Mind and Studies; avoid Envy; anxious Fears; Anger kept in; subtil and knotty Disquisitions; Joys and Exhilarations in Excess; Sadness smothered, and not communicated. Entertain Hopes; Mirth rather than Joy; Variety of Delights, rather than Satiety; Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that
fill

fill the Mind with splendid and illustrious Objects; as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature.

IF you fly Physick in HEALTH altogether, it will be too strange to your Body when there is a Necessity of it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary Effect when Sickness cometh. I approve rather certain Diets, at certain Seasons, than frequent Use of Physick; unless it be grown into a Custom. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less.

DESPISE not any new and unusual Accident in your Body, but take Advice about it.

IN Sickness respect HEALTH principally; and in HEALTH make use of your Body, and be not over-indulgent to it. For those that put their Bodies to Endure, in HEALTH, may, in most Illnesses, such I mean as are not very acute, be cured by Diet only, and good Tending, without much Physick.

CELSUS cou'd never have given that Direction of his, as a Physician, had he not been a Wise Man withal: He advises it, as a Secret of HEALTH and long Life, that a Man vary, and, now and then, interchange Contraries; but with an Inclination to the more benign Extreme. For Instance; use a spare and a full Diet, but oftner a full Diet; accustom your self to Watching, and full Sleep, but rather Sleep; to Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise. For so shall Nature be both cherished, and strengthened at once.

PHYSICIANS are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the Humour of the Patient, that they press not the true Cure of the Disease; and some others are so Regular and Stiff in proceeding according to Art, in the Cure of the Disease, that they do not sufficiently regard the Condition and Nature of the Patient. Take a Physician of a middle Composition; or if this succeed not to your Desire in any one Physician, combine two of ei-

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ther Sort: And forget not to send for, as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best approved-of in his Faculty.



XXIX. *Of* SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds; they never fly but by Twilight. Certainly, they ought to be repressed, or at least to be carefully guarded: For they cloud the Understanding; they alienate Friends; and interrupt Business, so that it can neither be carried on chearfully nor steadily. They dispose Kings to Tyranny; Husbands to Jealousy; even Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not so much of the Heart as of the Brain: For they find Room even in the stoutest Natures; as in the Example of *Henry the Seventh of England*; than whom there

there was not a more SUSPICIOUS Man, nor yet a more Stout. And in such a Composition they do little Hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they are Probable or no. But in fearful Natures they gain Ground a great deal too fast. Certainly nothing makes a Man so SUSPICIOUS, as to know little. Therefore the best Remedy against SUSPICIONS, is for a Man to make good Inquiry. *What would Men have, I wonder? Do they think that all Men, that they employ and converse with, are Angels or Saints? Don't they know, that they labour their own private Ends; and that every Man is nearer a-kin to himself than to another?* Therefore there is no better Way to moderate SUSPICIONS, than to provide Remedies, as if the SUSPICIONS were true; and to bridle them, as tho' they were false. For so far SUSPICIONS may be of Use, viz. in putting us upon making such Provision, as that, tho' the Thing we suspect be true, yet it may do us no Hurt.

SUSPICIONS, which the Mind of it self gathers, are nothing but empty Buzzes: But such as are nourished by outward Artifice, and put into Men's Heads by the Stories of Whisperers and Tale-Bearers, have Stings. Certainly the best Way to get clear of this intricate Wood of SUSPICIONS, is a frank and open Declaration of them to the Parties we SUSPECT. For thereby we can't fail of knowing more of the Truth of them than we did before: And withal this will make the Party we SUSPECT more cautious and circumspect, not to give further Cause of SUSPICION. But this must not be done to Men of base, degenerate Natures. For they, if they find themselves once SUSPECTED, will never be true afterwards. The *Italians* have a By-word: *Sospetto licentia fede*: As if SUSPICION gave a Passport to Faith; whereas it ought rather to kindle it, in order to clear itself.



XXX. *Of* DISCOURSE.

SOME in their DISCOURSE affect rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment, in picking out the Truth: As if it were a Praise, to know what may be SAID, and not what ought to be CONCEAL'D. Some have in Readiness certain common Places and Themes wherein they are luxuriant, being as to other Subjects barren and jejune: Which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once observ'd, ridiculous.

THE Honourablest Part of DISCOURSE is this: To give a Handle for the DISCOURSE; and again to moderate the same, and to pass to somewhat else: For then a Man leads the Dance. It is good, in Conversation and familiar DISCOURSE, to vary every now and then, and to intermingle

Speech of the present Occasion with Disputes; Stories with Arguments; asking of Questions with telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is Cloying and Nauseous to Jade any Thing too far

As for Jest, there are certain Things which ought to be exempted from it, by a kind of Privilege; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, private Men's Business of Importance; finally, any Case that deserveth Pity. Yet you'll meet with some, that think their Wits have been asleep, unless they have darted out some Piquant and Biting Sarcasm at a Man. That is a Habit that should by all means be restrain'd;

*Parce puer stimulis, & fortius utere
loris.*

IN short, the Difference is to be observ'd between Saltness and Bitterness. Certainly, he that is fond of a Satyrical Vein, as he makes others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory.

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HE that interrogates much, shall both Learn much, and Please much; especially if he adapt his Questions to the Capacity and Skill of the Respondent; for he will give him an Occasion to shew his Knowledge; and himself will be continually gathering a new Increase of Knowledge. But let his Questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a Poser.

FURTHER, he that would keep up the Decorum of familiar DISCOURSE, let him leave other Men their Turns to Speak. Nay, if there be any that affect to Reign in DISCOURSE, and to take up all the Time, let him find some Art to take them off, and to bring others on; as the Musick is wont to moderate the Dancers.

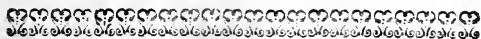
IF you dissemble sometimes your Knowledge of that you are thought to Know, you shall be thought another Time to know That you know not.

SPEECH of a Man's self ought to be rare, and with Judgment. I knew one, who wou'd often say, by way of Irony;

He must needs be an exceeding Wise Man, he talks so much of himself. There is scarcely any Case, wherein a Man can commend himself with good Grace, excepting one: And that is, in commending Virtue in another; but I mean such a Virtue whereunto himself aspires.

SPEECH that stings and girds others, should be sparingly used: For familiar DISCOURSE ought to be as an open Field, wherein a Man may expatiate; not like the High-Road, that leads Home. I knew two Noblemen of the West Part of *England*: One of which indulg'd himself too much in Scoffing, but was exceeding Hospitable; and the other would ask those that had been at the Table of the Former; *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Bob given to any Body?* To whom the Guest would perhaps answer; *Such and such a Thing passed.* Upon this He, as being the Other's Rival, wou'd say; *I know well enough, he would spoil a good Dinner with bad Sauce.*

DISCRETION of SPEECH is beyond Eloquence; and to speak aptly and suitably to the Person with whom we Talk, is more effectual than to affect the Ornament of Words or Method. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness: And a good Reply, or second Speech, without an Ability of making a continued Speech, discovers Poverty and Shallowness of Knowledge: As we see in Beasts, that those that are weak in the Course, are nimblest in the Turn; as it is between the Greyhound and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances e're one come to the Matter, is tedious; to use none at all, is blunt and harsh.



XXXI. *Of* EXPENCE.

THE End of Riches is EXPENCE:
The End of EXPENCE, Honour,
and Honourable Actions. Therefore
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EXTRAORDINARY EXPENCE must be limited by the Worth of the Occasion. For voluntary Poverty is a Debt sometimes to a Man's Country, as well as to the Kingdom of Heaven; but ordinary EXPENCE ought to be limited by a Man's Estate; and to be so governed as not to exceed his Income; and not subject to Imposition or Carelessness of Servants: Furthermore, to be ordered and managed to the best Shew, so as that the Disbursements may be less than the Generality of the World thinks. Certainly, if a Man would not run out, his ORDINARY EXPENCES ought to be but to the Half of his Receipts: And if he think to increase his Estate, but to the Third Part.

It is no Meanness, even in the greatest Men, to condescend and look into their Estates. Many forbear this, not so much out of Negligence, as out of a Fear of Chagrining themselves, if they should find Matters in an ill State. But Wounds cannot be cured without Searching. He that does not look into
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his Estate himself, had need both chuse well the Servants he employeth, and change them often: For New ones are more timorous, and less subtil. If a Man can look into his Accounts but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to Certainty.

A Man had need, if he be EXPENSIVE in one kind, to be as Saving again in some other. For Example, If he be Plentiful in Diet, to be Saving in Apparel: If he be Plentiful in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable; and the like. For he that is profuse in all kinds of EXPENCES, will hardly be preserved from Ruin.

IN clearing an Estate, a Man may as well hurt himself by too much Hastē, as by too much Delay. For hasty Selling is commonly as disadvantageous as Money taken up at Interest. Besides, he that clears at once is in Danger of a Relapse. For finding himself out of Streights, he will return to his old Ways: But he that extricates himself by Degrees, induces a Habit of Frugality;
and

and cures his Mind and Estate at once.

CERTAINLY, he that would repair a decay'd Estate, must not despise even the minutest Things: And commonly it is less dishonourable to cut off petty Charges, than to stoop to petty Gains. A Man ought to be very wary in beginning Charges, which once begun will continue: But in EXPENCES that are not likely to Return, he may be more Splendid and Magnificent.



XXXII. *Of Inlarging the Bounds of* KINGDOMS *and* STATES.

THE Speech of *Themistocles*, applied to himself, was indeed somewhat Haughty and Arrogant; but had it been spoken of others, and in general, it may seem to have comprehended

hended a very wise Observation, and grave Censure. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he answered, *He could not Fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City.* These Words drawn to a Politick Sense, do excellently express and distinguish two differing Abilities in those that sit at the Helm of STATES. For if a true Survey be taken of all the Counsellors of Princes, Senators, and Statesmen that ever were, there will be found doubtless (tho' very rarely) those that can make a SMALL STATE GREAT, yet cannot FIDDLE: As, on the other hand, there will be found a great many, that are wondrous skilful upon the CITTERN or LUTE (that is in COURT-TRIFLES) but yet are so far from being able to make a SMALL STATE GREAT, that their Talent seems rather to lie the other Way; to bring a great and flourishing STATE to Ruin and Decay. And certainly, those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Times Counsellors and Ministers of State

State gain both Favour with their Masters, and Esteem with the Vulgar, deserve no better Name than FIDDLING; being Things rather pleasing for the present, and ornamental to the Artists themselves, than tending to the Weak and Advancement of the STATES which they serve. There are also (no doubt) other Counsellors and Governors, by no means to be despised, that are sufficient and equal to their Business, and that can manage Affairs dextrously, and keep them from Precipices and manifest Inconveniences; who, nevertheless, are far from the Ability to raise and enlarge a STATE.

BUT be the Workmen what they will, let us cast our Eyes upon the Work; that is to say, what may be judged the true GREATNESS of KINGDOMS and STATES, and by what MEANS it may be obtained: An Argument fit for great Princes to have perpetually in Hand, and diligently to meditate; to the end that neither by over-measuring their Forces, they

they may intangle themselves in vain and too difficult Enterprizes; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, descend to fearful and pusillanimous Counsels.

THE Greatness of EMPIRES, as to Bulk and Territory, falls under Measure; as to Revenues, it falls under Computation. The Population and Number of Citizens may be taken by Musters; the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns, by Maps. But yet there is not any Thing among Civil Affairs more subject to Error, than the right Valuation, and true Judgment, concerning the Power and Strength of an EMPIRE. The KINGDOM of HEAVEN is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a GRAIN of MUSTARD-SEED, which is one of the least Grains, but hath in it a Property and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there KINGDOMS and STATES in Compass and Territory very great, and yet not so apt to enlarge their Bounds, or extend their

their Command; and some, on the other side, that have but a small Dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

FORTIFIED TOWNS, stored Arsenals and Armories, goodly Breeds of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordinance, Artillery, and the like; all this is but *a Sheep in a Lion's Skin*, unless the Breed and Disposition of the People be stout and warlike, Nay, Number it self in Armies signifies not much, where the Soldiers are of a faint and weak Courage. For *Virgil* says well: *It never troubles a Wolf how many the Sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, lay under the Eye of the *Macedonians*, like a vast Sea of People, infomuch as *Alexander's* Commanders, astonished at the Spectacle, came to the King, and wish'd him to attack them by Night: But he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was easier than could be imagined. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped upon a Hill,

Hill, with Four Hundred Thousand Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above Fourteen Thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Tonder are Men too many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight.* But before the Sun set, he found them enow to give him the Chace with infinite Slaughter. Innumerable are the Examples of the great Odds between Number and Courage. Let it be laid down then in the first Place, for a most certain and undoubted Maxim, That of all Things tending to the Greatness of any KINGDOM OR STATE, the Principal is, to have a Race of Military Men.

AND this also is a more trite than true Saying, *That Money is the Sinews of War*, where the Sinews of Men's Arms, in a base and effeminate People, are wanting. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus*, when in Ostentation he shew'd him his Gold: *But if any one (O King) should come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.*

Wherefore let any PRINCE or STATE, whose Natives or Subjects are not good Soldiers, think soberly of their Forces: And let Princes, on the other hand, that have Subjects of Martial Disposition, know their own Strength, unless they are otherwise wanting to themselves. As to Mercenary Forces, (which is the usual Remedy where Native Forces fail) all Times are full of Examples, whereby it manifestly appears, that whatsoever STATE or PRINCE depends upon them, *he may spread his Feathers for a Time beyond the Compass of his Nest, but he will mew them soon after.*

THE BLESSING of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet; *That the same Tribe or Nation should be both the Lion's Whelp, and the Ass between Burthens.* Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with Taxes should ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, that Taxes levied by publick Consent of the STATE do depress and abate Men's Courage less; as a Man may
plainly

plainly see in the Tributes of the *Low-Countries*; which they call *Excises*; and in some degree in those Contributions which they call *Subsidies* in *England*. For it is to be noted, that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse; so that although the same Tribute and Tax given by Consent, or imposed by Command, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly on the Courage. Therefore be this also laid down for a Principle, *That no People over-charg'd with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

LET STATES and KINGDOMS that aim at GREATNESS, by all means take heed how the NOBILITY and GRANDDEES, and those we call GENTLEMEN, multiply too fast. For that makes the common Subjects become mean, abject Things, and in Effect nothing better than the Noblemen's Bond-Slaves and Labourers. Even as you may see in Copfes, if you leave your Staddles and larger Trees too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood; but the great-

est Part will degenerate into Shrubs and Bushes: So in a Country, if the Nobility be too many, the Commons will be base and heartless, and Matters will be brought to that pass, that not the Hundredth Pole will be fit for an Helmet; especially as to the Infantry, which is the principal Strength of an Army; and so there will be a great Populacy, and little Strength. This which I speak of, hath been in no Nations of the World more clearly proved, than by the Examples of *England* and *France*; in regard the Middle-People of *England* make good Soldiers, which the Peasants of *France* do not. And in this Particular, the Device of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, (whereof I have spoken largely in the History of his Life) was profound and admirable, in making Farms and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; that is, maintain'd with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject to live in convenient Plenty, and no servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the
Hands

Hands of the Owners, or at least Usufructuaries, and not Hirelings and Mercenaries. And thus indeed a Country shall attain to *Virgil's* Character, which he gives to Antient *Italy*:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,

Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ. Æn. i. 434, 5.

A Land there is, *Hesperia* nam'd of old,
The Soil is fruitful, and the Men are bold.
Dryden.

NEITHER is that STATE (which is almost peculiar to *England*, and for any Thing I know, not to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be pass'd over; I mean the Free-Servants and Attendants of the Noblemen and Gentlemen; of which Sort, even they of inferior Condition, do no way yield to the Yeomanry, as to Foot-Soldiers. And therefore out of all Question, the Splendor, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of Noble-

men and Gentlemen, customary in *England*, doth singularly conduce to Martial Greatness; whereas, on the contrary, the close, reserved and contracted Living of Noblemen and Gentlemen, causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all means Care must be taken, that the Trunk of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Tree of MONARCHY be large and strong enough to bear the Branches and the Boughs; that is, that the NATURAL SUBJECTS of the Crown or STATE bear a sufficient Proportion to the FOREIGN SUBJECTS that they govern. Those STATES therefore that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers, seem to be well made for Largeness of EMPIRE. For it is a vain Opinion to think that a Handful of People should be able, with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, to embrace and keep under too large an Extent of Dominion. This they may do for a Time, but it can never hold long. The *Spartans* were a sparing and nice People in
point

point of Naturalization. Whence so long as they Ruled within a small Compass, they stood firm; but when they began to spread and inlarge their Dominion, and that their Boughs were become too great for the Stem of the *Spartans* to keep in order, they became a Wind-fall upon the sudden. Never was any STATE so open to receive Strangers into their Body, as were the *Romans*. And their Success was equal to so wise an Institution; for they grew to the greatest Monarchy in the World. Their manner was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; that is, not only Right of Commerce, Right of Marriage, Right of Inheritance, but also Right of Suffrage, and Right of Canvassing or Standing for Places: And this, not only to single Persons, but to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and sometimes to whole Nations. Add to this, their Custom of planting Colonies, whereby the *Roman* Plant was removed into the Soil of other Nations:

And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spread upon the whole World, but, contrariwise, it was the whole World that spread upon the *Romans*: Which is the surest Way of *enlarging the Bounds of Empire*. I have wonder'd often at the *Spanish* Monarchy, how they clasp and curb so many Kingdoms and Provinces with so few natural *Spaniards*. But surely the *Spains* of themselves may be lookt upon as a good handsom Stem; since they contain a far larger Tract of Country, than *Rome* or *Sparta*, at their first Rise. And besides, though the *Spaniards* are sparing enough of Naturalization, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, promiscuously to employ in their ordinary MILITIA all Nations whatsoever; yea, and often they confer their highest Commands of War upon Leaders that are no Natural *Spaniards*. Yet they seem, not long since, to have been sensible of this want of Natives, and to have sought a Remedy thereof, as appears

pears by the *Pragmatical Sanction* publish'd this Year.

It is most certain, that Mechanical, Sedentary Arts, that are exercis'd, not Abroad, but within Doors; and delicate Manufactures, that require rather the Finger than the Arm, have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military Disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and fear Danger less than Labour. And this Temper of theirs must not be much checkt, if we would preserve their Vigour. Therefore it was a great Advantage to *Sparta, Athens, Rome*, and other ancient STATES, that they had commonly not Freemen, but Slaves, to dispatch those Manufactures. But the Use of Slaves, since the receiving of the Christian Law, is in greatest Part abolish'd. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those Arts to Strangers only; who for that Purpose are to be courted to come among us, or at least to be received easily. The Vulgar Natives should consist of Three Sorts of Men, Tillers
of

of the Ground, Free-Servants, and Handy-Crafts-Men of strong and manly Arts; as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed Soldiers.

BUT above all, for EMPIRE and GREATNESS it imports most, that a Nation do profess the Study of Arms, as their principal Glory and Occupation. For the Things which we have hitherto spoken of, are but Inablements towards Arms; and to what Purpose is Inablement, without plying the Thing it self to produce it into Act? *Romulus* (as they report, or feign) after his Death sent this as a Legacy to his Countrymen, that above all they should intend Arms, and then they should prove the greatest EMPIRE of the World.

THE whole Fabrick of the STATE of *Sparta*, was (tho' not over-wisely, yet industriously) composed and framed to that Scope and End, of being Warriors. The *Persians* and *Macedonians* had the same Usage, but not so constant or lasting. The *Britains*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Nor-*
mans,

mans, and some others, gave themselves principally to Arms for a Flash. The *Turks*, spurr'd on not a little by their Law, retain the same Usage to this Day, tho' (as now practis'd) in great Declension of their Militia. Of Christian *Europe*, the Nation that still retains and professes it, are only the *Spaniards*. But it is a Thing so clear and manifest, *That every Man profits most in that he most intends*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. But it may be sufficient to have hinted, that no Nation, that does not directly profess Arms, can look to have any considerable GREATNESS of EMPIRE fall into their Mouths as it were: And on the other side, that it is a most certain Oracle of Time, that those Nations, that have continued long in the Profession and Study of Arms (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) work Wonders in the Propagation of EMPIRE. Nay, those that have flourish'd in Military Glory but for the Space only of one Age, have, notwithstanding, in that
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one Age, attain'd that GREATNESS of DOMINION, which they have kept a long Time after, even when the Discipline of Arms hath grown to Decay.

IT falls in with the foregoing Precept, for a STATE to have such Laws and Customs as may reach forth unto them just Occasions, or at least Pretences, of taking up Arms. For there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they forbear making War, (upon which so many Calamities ensue) but upon some weighty, or at least specious Cause. The *Turk* hath always at hand, and at Command, for Cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect. The *Romans*, tho' they esteemed the extending of the Limits of their EMPIRE to be great Honour to their Generals, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a War. Therefore a Nation that aspires to EMPIRE should have this Quality; to have a lively and quick Sense of any Wrongs, either upon bordering Subjects, or Merchants or publick Ministers; and let them not
fit

fit too long upon the first Provocation. Next, let them be forward and ready to send Aids and Succours to their Allies and Confederates, as it ever was with the *Romans*: Insomuch, as if a Hostile Invasion were made upon a Confederate, which also had Leagues Defensive with other STATES; and the same implored Aid of several, the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and leave it to no other to have the Honour of the Kindness. As for the Wars which were antiently made upon the Account of a kind of Conformity, or tacit Correspondence between STATE and STATE, I do not see how they can be justified. Such were the Wars undertaken by the *Romans* for the Liberty of *Greece*: Such, those of the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, to set up or pull down Democracies and Oligarchies: Such are the Wars made sometimes by STATES or PRINCES, under Pretence of protecting the Subjects of others, and delivering them from Tyranny and Oppression, and the like. Let it suffice
upon

upon this Head, *That no STATE expect to be Great, that is not instantly awake upon any just Occasion of Arming.*

No BODY, be it Natural or Politick, can preserve its Health without Exercise. And to a KINGDOM or STATE, a just and honourable War is in the Place of wholesome Exercise. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like Heat from Motion, which conduces much to Health. For in a slothful, drowsy Peace both the Courage effeminates, and the Manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happiness, without all question it makes for GREATNESS, that a STATE be still as it were under Arms. And a *Veteran* Army (though it be a chargeable Business) always on Foot, is that which gives the Law, or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour-States; as is remarkably seen in *Spain*, which hath kept up, in one Part or other, a *Veteran* Army, now for the Space of Six-score Years.

THE Command of the Sea is a kind of EPITOME of Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus* of *Pompey's* Preparation against *Cæsar*; *Pompey's Counsel* (says he) *is truly Themistocléan; for he thinks that he that is Master of the Sea, is Master of the World.* And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out, and broke the Heart of *Cæsar*, if, upon vain Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battels by Sea, in many Examples. The Battel of *Actium* decided the EMPIRE of the World. The Battel of *Lepanto* put a Ring in the Nose of the *Turk*. Certainly it hath often fallen out, that Victories by Sea have been final to the War; but this has been, when the Fortune of the whole War has been put upon such Battels. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the Sea, is at great Liberty, and can take as much, and as little of the War, as he will: Whereas, on the contrary, he that is strongest by Land, is many Times, nevertheless, in great Streights. But
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at this Day, and with us of *Europe*, Naval Strength (which is the Dower of this KINGDOM of *Britain*) is of huge Moment towards Sovereignty; both because most of the KINGDOMS of *Europe* are not merely In-land, but girt with the Sea, most part of their Compass; and because the Treasures and Wealth of both *Indies* are a kind of Appurtenance to the Command of the Seas.

MODERN Wars may seem to be made in the Dark, as it were, in Comparison of the Glory and various Lustre, which reflected upon Military Men in antient Times from Warlike Achievements. We have at present, perhaps, for Encouragement, some honourable Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers, and no Soldiers: We have also a few Pedigrees upon Family-Scutcheons: Likewise, some publick Hospitals for discharged and maimed Soldiers, and such like Things. But amongst the Antients, the
Trophies

Trophies erected upon the Place of Victory; the Funeral Laudatives; and Stately Monuments for those that died in War; the Civick Crowns and Garlands Personal; the Style of EMPEROR, which the greatest Kings afterwards borrowed of the Commanders in War; the celebrated Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return, after the Wars were successfully ended; the vast Donatives and Largeſſes to the Soldiers, upon the disbanding of the Armies: These, I say, were things so many, and so great, and of such glorious Lustre, as were able to fire the most frozen Breasts, and inflame them to War. But, above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not a Matter of Pomp, or vain Pageantry, but one of the wisest and noblest Institutions that ever was: For it contained in it these three Things; Honour and Glory to the General; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoil; and Donatives to the Army. But the Honour of Triumph perhaps were not fit for Monarchies,

except it be in the Person of the King himself, or of the King's Sons; which also, in the Time of the Emperors, obtain'd at *Rome*; who did appropriate the actual Triumphs to themselves and their Sons, for such Wars as they had achiev'd in Person; and indulg'd only Triumphal Garments and Ensigns to the other Commanders.

BUT to conclude this Discourse; There is no Man (as the Holy Scripture testifies) that by *Care-taking can add one Cubit to his Stature*; that is to say, in this little Model of Man's Body: But in the great Frame of KINGDOMS and COMMON-WEALTHS, it is in the Power of PRINCES and STATES to amplify their KINGDOMS, and extend their Bounds. For by introducing such Laws, Constitutions and Customs, as we have now propounded, and others of like Nature with these, they may sow GREATNESS to their Posterity, and future Ages. But these Counsels are seldom consider'd by Princes, but the Matter is commonly left to take its Chance. XXXIII.



XXXIII. *Of* PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are eminent amongst Antient and Heroical Works. The World, when it was Young, begat more Children; but now it is Old, it begets fewer: For I may well reckon new COLONIES to be the Children, as it were, of former Nations. I like a PLANTATION in a Pure Soil; I mean, where one People is not DISPLANTED, to the end of PLANTING another. For where this is done, it is plainly an Extirpation, not a PLANTATION.

PLANTING of Countries is like PLANTING of Woods: Wherein you must make Account to lose almost Twenty Years Profit, and expect your Recompence in the End: For the principal Thing, that hath been the Destruction

struction of most PLANTATIONS (which otherwise wou'd have succeeded well) hath been that fordid and hasty drawing of Profit in the first Years. It is true, a speedy Harvest of Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may consist with the Good of the PLANTATION, but no further.

IT is a Shameful and Unblest Thing, to take the Scum of the People, Banished and Condemned Men, to be the Seminary of a PLANTATION: And not only so, but it spoileth and ruineth the PLANTATION. For such profligate Fellows will ever live like Vagabonds, and not fall to work, but give themselves up to Laziness, and commit Villanies, and consume Vi-ctuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certify over to their Country, to the Prejudice and Discredit of the PLANTATION.

LET the People wherewith you PLANT, be especially Artisans of the Kinds that follow: Gardiners, Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners,

Joiners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Cooks, Bakers, Brewers, and the like.

IN the Country where you intend to PLANT, first look about what kind of Eatables and Drinkables the Country yields of it self without Culture: As Chef-nuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plums, Cherries, Wild-Honey, and the like; and make use of them, as is meet. Then consider, what kind of Esculent Things the Soil may produce speedily within the Year: As Parsnips, Carrots, Cabbages, Onyons, Radishes, Cucumbers, Artichokes of *Jerusalem*, Melons, Maiz, and the like.

As for Wheat, Barley, and Oats, they ask too much Labour: But with Pease and Beans you may begin; both because they ask less Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. Of Rice likewise there cometh a great Encrease, and it is a kind of Meat also. Above all, there ought to be transported good Store of Bisket, Oat-meal, Flower, Meal of all

Sorts, and the like, that they may be at hand in the Beginning, till Bread may be had.

FOR Beasts and Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, Conies, and the like.

FISHING must be especially plied, both for the Support of the COLONY, and for the Gain of Exporting. The Victuals in PLANTATIONS ought to be expended with as sparing a Hand almost as in a Besieged Town; that is, with certain Allowance. And let the main Part of the Ground converted to Gardens or Corn, be assigned to publick Granaries, wherein the Fruits may be stored up, and delivered out in Proportion; yet so as that some Spots of Ground may be reserved for particular Persons to exercise their Industry upon.

CONSIDER likewise, what Commodities the Country doth naturally produce, that the Exportation thereof,
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into Places where they are much valued, may help to defray the Charges of the PLANTATION; as it hath fared with TOBACCO in *Virginia*; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the PLANTATION it self. Wood in Desert Countries commonly abounds; and therefore Timber, that is fit for Houses, Ships, and such-like Uses, may be reckoned one of the principal Commodities. If there be a Vein of Iron, and Streams whereupon to set the Iron-Mills; Iron is a brave Commodity in Woody Countries. Making of Bay-Salt in the Heat of the Sun, if the Climate be proper for it, would be a Thing worth Trying.

GROWING Silk likewise, if any be, is a likely Commodity. Pitch of all Sorts, where there are Store of Firs and Pines, will not fail. So Drugs, and sweet Woods, where they are, yield great Profit. Soap-Ashes likewise will be very gainful, and other Things that may be enquired after. But moil not too much under Ground,

especially at the Beginning; for Mines are fallacious, and expensive; and feeding the PLANTERS with goodly Hopes, make them lazy in other Things.

LET the Government of the PLANTATION be put into the Hands of some One, but assisted with Counsel: And let them have Commission to exercise Martial Law, but with some Limitation. And above all, let Men make this Advantage of living in the Wilderness; to have GOD always, and his Service, before their Eyes.

AGAIN, let not the COLONY depend upon too many Counsellors and Managers, (Residing, I mean, in the Country that PLANTETH) but upon a moderate Number; And let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for These are too greedy of present Gain. Let there be an absolute Freedom from Custom, till the PLANTATION be grown strong: And not only Freedom from Custom, but a Liberty also to export their Commodities into what Parts soever they please;

please; unless there be some weighty Reason to the contrary.

Do not over-charge the PLANTATION by cramming in People, and sending too fast, Company after Company: But rather hearken to a diligent Information, how they waste from Time to Time, and send Supplies proportionably; yet so as that the COLONY may live well, and not be afflicted with Penury.

It hath been a great Detriment to the Health of divers PLANTATIONS, their Building near the Sea and Rivers, in marshy and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin in such Places, for the Convenience of Carriage, and other like Things, yet by Degrees ascend to the upper Parts of the Country, and that are at some Distance from the Waters.

It is of Concern likewise to the Health of the PLANTATION, that they have good Store of Salt with them, to season their Meat with, which otherwise would likely corrupt.

IF you PLANT where Savages are, do not win them with Trifles only and Gugaws; but oblige them by just and gracious Usage; yet without abating any necessary Guard: And do not court their Favour by helping them to invade their Enemies; but to lend them Aid for their Defence, may not be amiss. It is of Use likewise to send often some of the Natives over to the Country, from whence the COLONY came; to the end they may see there a much better Condition than their own, and publish it to their Countrymen when they return.

WHEN the PLANTATION is grown to some Strength, then it will be seasonable to put to them Women for Increase, that the PLANTATION may propagate and spread into Generations from it self; and not be ever depending upon Foreign Supplies.

IT is the wickedest Thing in the World to forsake and abandon a PLANTATION, once in Forwardness; for besides the Dishonour, it is no other than
mere

mere Treachery, and a merciless Effusion of the Blood of many miserable Creatures.



XXXIV. Of RICHES.

I Cannot call RICHES by a more proper Name, than to style them the Baggage of Virtue. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so are RICHES to Virtue. They are necessary, but cumbersome; nay, and the Care of it often loseth, or disturbeth the Victory. Of great RICHES there is no Use, but in the Expending of them: The rest is but Conceit. *Solomon* says the same Thing: *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it with his Eyes?* The Possession of RICHES gives the Master no sensible Pleasure. There is indeed a Custody of them; there is also a Power of Donative, or Distribution

tion of them; there is likewise a Fame; and a Pride from them; but there is no solid Use of them in themselves, reaching to the Master. Do you not see, what feigned Prices are set upon Jewels, and such like Rarities; and what empty Works are undertaken, out of mere Ostentation, to the end there may seem to be some Use of great RICHES? But some One will say, that the Use of them is seen in this especially; the Redeeming their Owners out of Dangers and Calamities: As *Solomon* says; *The Substance of the Rich is his strong Hold, and as a high Wall in his Imagination.* But *Solomon* cautiously says, that they are so in IMAGINATION, not in FACT. For more Men, doubtless, have been sold by their RICHES, than bought off.

SEEK not to raise great RICHES, but such as thou may'st get Justly, use Soberly, distribute Chearfully, and leave Contentedly. Yet entertain no *Friarly, Monkish* Contempt of them, but distinguish as to the Use; as *Cicero* says excellently

cellently well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati, quæri*. Hearken also to *Solomon*, and don't set your Heart upon accumulating RICHES too hastily: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*. The Poets feign that *Plutus* (which signifies RICHES) when he is sent from *Jupiter*, limps, and goes slowly: But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of Foot: Hinting, that RICHES gotten by good Means, and just Labour, advance slowly; but when they come by the Death of others (as by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, or the like) they come tumbling upon a Man. This Fable might as well be understood likewise of *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil. For when RICHES flow from the Devil, (as by Fraud, Oppression, Injustice, and Wickedness) they come with a violent Course.

THE Ways to grow RICH are various, and most of them foul. Parsimony may be reckon'd one of the best, and yet
even

yet even That is not altogether Innocent; for it cuts short the Works of Liberality and Charity. The Improvement of the Ground seems to be the most natural Way to RICHES; as being the Blessing of our Great Mother the Earth: But this Way is slow. And yet where Men of eminent Wealth stoop to Husbandry, and Country Gains, they grow immensely Rich.

I knew a Nobleman of *England*, that had the greatest Revenues from Country Affairs, of any Subject in my Time. He was rich in Herds, Sheep, Woods, as well Copfes, as those of a larger kind; Coals; Corn; Lead and Iron-Mines; and a Number of the like Productions of Husbandry. So that the Earth was to him as a Sea, perpetually importing Commodities.

It was rightly observ'd by One, that he came with great Pains to a small Estate, and with none at all almost, to a great One. For when a Man's Stock of Money is grown to this, that he can wait the Advantages of Fairs and Markets;

kets; and can surmount those Bargains, which, because of the Greatness of the Sum, very few Men can reach; and partake likewise in other Men's Labours, that do not abound in Money; he must needs grow exceeding RICH.

THE Gains of ordinary Trades and Professions are undoubtedly Honest; and are furthered by two Things chiefly: Diligence, and a good Name for honest and fair Dealing.

BUT the Gains accruing from considerable Contracts are of a more doubtful Nature; namely, when a Man lies in wait for, and watches the Necessities and Straits of other People; bribes other Men's Servants and Managers to the Prejudice of their Masters; artificially and cunningly puts off other Chapmen, that would, perhaps, have consented to give more; with the like fraudulent Practices, which are all culpable. As for EMPTIONS, when a Man buys, with a Design not to hold, but to sell again, they commonly grind both Ways, as well upon the Seller as Buyer.

Buyer. PARTNERSHIPS do greatly enrich, if the Persons be well chosen with whom we go PARTNERS. USURY is one of the certainest Means of Gain, tho' one of the worst; as That, whereby a Man doth eat his Bread *in the Sweat of Another's Brow*; besides, it ceaseth not to Plough upon Sundays. But yet Certain tho' it be, it hath its Flaws: For Scriveners and Broakers * will sometimes extol Men of doubtful Fortunes for their own Advantage.

THE good Fortune of being the First in some new Invention, or Privilege, doth sometimes cause an Inundation of Wealth; as it was with the first Sugar-Baker in the *Canaries*. Therefore if a Man can play the true Logician, to have as well Judgment as Invention, doubtless he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be favourable.

HE that depends wholly upon Gains Certain, will hardly rise to great RICHES:
On

* *In the Original English*; do value unsound Men, to serve their own Turn.

On the other hand, he that puts all upon Adventures, will hardly escape Breaking, and coming to nothing. It is good therefore to guard Adventures with Certainties, whereby to uphold Losses.

MONOPOLIES, and Coemption of Wares for Resale, where they are restrain'd by no Law, are a ready Way to RICHES; especially if the Party can foresee, what Commodities are like to come into Request, and to stock himself well with them before hand.

THE acquiring RICHES by the Service of Kings, and great Persons, carries a kind of Dignity with it; yet when they are got by Flattery, and soothing and servile Artifices, and bending to every Nod, it may be reckoned one of the worst Ways. As for fishing for Testaments and Executorships, (as *Tacitus* charges *Seneca*, *Testamenta & Orbos tanquam Indagine capi*;) it is yet worse, by how much meaner the Persons are we have to deal with, than in Service.

DON'T much believe them, who make a Shew of despising RICHES: For they despise them that despair of them; and none more close-fisted when they come to them.

BE not Penny-wife: RICHES have Wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men when they dye leave their RICHES, either to a Publick Use, or to their Children, Kindred, and Friends. In both Cases, moderate Legacies prosper best. Great RICHES left to an Heir, are a Lure to all the Birds of Prey round about to fly to; unless the Heir be well establish'd in Years and Judgment. Likewise glorious and splendid Foundations to publick Uses, are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *whited Sepulchres of Alms*, which will soon putrify, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thy Gifts by Quantity, but by Usefulness; and reduce them to a due Measure: And defer not Charities till Death. For, if a Man weigh it rightly,

rightly, he that does so, is rather Liberal of another Man's, than of his Own.



XXXV. Of PROPHECIES.

I Mean not to speak of Divine PROPHECIES; nor of Heathen Oracles; nor of Natural Predictions; but only of PROPHECIES that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*; *To Morrow thou and thy Son shall be with me.* *Virgil* hath these Verses; *Æn.* 3. 97.

*Hic Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur
orīs,
Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab
illis :*

A PROPHECY it seems of the *Roman* Empire. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses:

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*Venient Annis
 Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
 Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
 Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
 Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
 Ultima Thule:*

A PROPHECY of the Discovery of *America*.

THE Daughter of *Polycrates* dream'd that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* anointed him: And it came to pass, that he was crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, he sealed up his Wife's Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Soothsayer told him, his Wife was with Child, because Men do not use to seal Vessels that are empty. A Phantasm that appear'd to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterum me videbis*. *Tiberius* said to *Galba*, *Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium*.

IN

IN *Vespasian's* Time there went a PROPHECY in the *East*; That those that should come forth of *Judea*, shou'd reign over the World: Which though, it may be, was meant of our SAVIOUR, yet *Tacitus* expounds it, of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed the Night before he was slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the Succession that followed him, for many Years, made golden Times.

HENRY the Sixth of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; *This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crown, for which we strive.*

WHEN I was in *France*, I heard from one *Dr. Pena*, that the *Queen-Mother*, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husband's Nativity to be calculated, under a false Name; and the Astrologer gave a Judgment, that he should be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laugh'd, thinking her Husband to be above

Challenges and Duels: But he was slain upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Mongomery* going in at his Bever.

THE trivial PROPHECY, which I heard when I was a Child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

*When Hempe is sponne,
England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth*) *England* should come to utter Confusion: Which, Thanks be to GOD, is verified only in the Change of the Name: For that the King's Style is now no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another PROPHECY before the Year 88, which I do not well understand:

There

*There shall be seen upon a Day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The Black Fleet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone,
For after Wars shall you have none.*

It was generally conceiv'd to be meant of the *Spanish Fleet*, that came in 88: For that the King of *Spain's* Sirname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

Octogessimus Octavus mirabilis Annus;
was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, tho' not in Number; that ever swam upon the Sea.

As for *Clean's Dream*, I think it was a Jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kind; especially, if you include Dreams, and Predictions of A-

astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain Credit, for Example.

My Judgment is, that they ought all to be despised; and ought to serve but for Winter-talk by the Fire-side. Tho' when I say *Despised*, I mean it as for Belief: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be despised; for they have done much Mischief: And I see many severe Laws made to suppress them.

THAT, that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men mark them when they hit, and never mark when they miss: As they do generally also of Dreams. The second is, that probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many Times turn themselves into PROPHECIES: While the Nature of Man, which coveteth Divination, thinks it no Peril to Foretel that, which indeed they do but Collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse: For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the
Globe

Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceiv'd not to be all Sea: And adding thereto the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a PREDICTION. The third and last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have been Impostures, and by idle and crafty Brains merely contrived and feigned, after the Event past.



XXXVI. Of AMBITION.

AMBITION is like Choler: Which is a Humour that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Chearful, and Stirring; if it meet with no Obstruction: But if it be stopped, so as not to have a free Course, it becometh Aduſt, and thereby Malign and Venomous. In like manner AMBITIOUS MEN, if they

they find no Repulse in their Pursuit of Honours, but are still getting forward, are rather Busy than Dangerous: But if they are checkt in their Desires, and disappointed often, they harbour Ill-will and Envy in their Hearts, and look upon Men and Things with a very evil Eye; and are then inwardly delighted, when Things go backward: Which is the worst Property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes (if they make use of AMBITIOUS MEN) to order it so, that they be still Advancing, and never go backwards. Which, because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it were better not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not together with their Service, they will take care to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good, not to use AMBITIOUS MEN, except it be upon Necessity; it will be worth while to speak, in what Cases they are of Necessity.

GOOD

GOOD Commanders and Generals in War, must by all means be taken, be they never so AMBITIOUS: For their Usefulness, in being set at the Head, compensates for the rest: And to chuse a Soldier without AMBITION, is to pull off his Spurs. There is another Use also of AMBITIOUS MEN, in being Skreens to Princes against Peril and Envy: For no Man will take that Part upon him, unless he be like a seal'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, only because he cannot see about him. There is another considerable Use also of AMBITIOUS MEN, in clipping the Wings of those that over-top, and in pulling down their Greatness; as *Tiberius* made use of *Macro* to overthrow *Sejanus*.

SINCE therefore they are necessary in the Cases mentioned, it remains to shew, how they are to be bridled and restrained, that they may be the less dangerous. There is less Danger of them, if they are of mean Birth, than if they are Noble; and of a
Nature

Nature somewhat harsh and rugged, than if gracious and popular; lastly, if they are New Raised, than if they are grown Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatness. It is generally counted a Weakness in Princes to have Favou-rites and Bosom-Friends: Yet, to speak Truth, there is no better Remedy against the excessive Greatness of Nobles and Ministers. For when the Power of Pleasuring or Displeasuring lies in the Favourite, it is hardly possible any Other should be Over-great.

ANOTHER good Way to curb them, is to Ballance them by others as AMBITIOUS and Proud as They. But then there had need be some moderate Counsellors, to interpose, and keep Things even between them: For without that Ballast the Ship will roul too much. At least Princes may encourage and animate some Persons of meaner Condition, to be as it were Scourges to AMBITIOUS MEN. As for creating an Opinion in the Minds of AMBITIOUS MEN, that they are upon the Brink of Ruin,

Ruin, and to keep them in Awe that Way; if they are of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they are Stout and Daring, it will precipitate their Designs and Machinations; and there is Danger in it. If there be a Necessity of pulling them down, and that it is not safe to do it all at once; the only Way is, a continual Interchange of Favours and Disgraces, whereby they may be amazed and confounded, not knowing what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood.

OF AMBITIONS, it is less hurtful the AMBITION to prevail in great Things, than that other of Intermeddling in every Thing: For that breeds Confusion, and is the Ruin of Business. But yet there is less Danger from an AMBITIOUS MAN active in Business, than great and powerful in Interest and Dependencies. He that makes it his Business to be Eminent amongst Stirring and Able Men, undertakes a very great Task; but that is ever good for the Publick: But he that plots, to keep down Men of Understanding, and to be the

the only Figure amongst Cyphers, is the Banè and Calamity of an Age.

HONOUR is attended with three remarkable Advantages: A Power to oblige; An easy Approach to Princes; and the raising of a Man's own Fortune. He that hath the best of these three Intentions, when he Aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discern and distinguish such Intentions in his Servants, is a wise Prince. But, in general, Princes and States should chuse such Ministers, as are led more by Duty, than AMBITION; and such as embrace and love Business rather upon Conscience, than Ostentation. In fine, let Princes judiciously distinguish between Busy Natures, that will be meddling in every Thing, and a willing or chearful Mind.





XXXVII. Of MASKS and TRIUMPHS.

THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongst such serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better they should be graced with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Choir, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick: And the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme good Grace: I say ACTING, not DANCING, (For that is a mean and vulgar Thing;) and the Voices of the Dialogue should be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenour, no Treble;) and the Ditty High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. Several
Choirs

Choirs placed one against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, Anthem-wise, give great Pleasure. Turning Dances into Figure is a Childish Curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the Sense, and respect not petty Wonderments. It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty and Pleasure: For they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be fatied with the same Object. Let the Scenes abound with Light, especially coloured and varied: And let the MASKERS, or any other that are to come down from the Scene, have some Motions upon the Scene it self, before their coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great Pleasure desire to see what it cannot perfectly discern. Let the Songs be loud and chearful, and not Chirpings or Pulings. Let the Musick likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The Colours that shew best by Candle-light,

light, are White Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and Spangles, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for rich Embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned.

LET the Suits of the MASKERS be graceful, and such as become the Person when the Vizars are off; not after the Examples of known Attires; *Turks*, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let Antimasks not be long; they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild-men, Antiques, Beasts, Spirits, Witches, Ethiops, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks, *Cupids*, Statues moving, and the like. As for Angels, it is not Comical enough, to put them into Anti-masks; and any thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is, on the other side, as unfit. But chiefly, let the Musick of them be Recreating, and with some strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours suddenly coming forth, without any Drops falling, are in such a Company, where is Steam and Heat, Things of great Pleasure and Refresh-

ment. Double MASKS, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the Room be kept clean and neat.

FOR Jufts, and Turneys, and Barriers; the Glories of Them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; especially if they are drawn with strange Beasts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like: Or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the Finery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these Toys.



XXXVIII. *Of* NATURE, *and Natural Disposition* *in Men.*

NATURE is often hid; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force makes NATURE more impetuous
in

in the Return; Doctrine and Precepts render the Effects of NATURE less importune indeed, but do not remove them; But Custom alone is that, which perfectly changes and subdues NATURE. He that desires a Conquest over his NATURE, let him neither set himself too great, nor too small Tasks: For the First will deject him, by reason of frequent Failings; and the Second will not encourage him much, though he should often prevail. And at first let him practise with Helps, as young Swimmers with Bladders or Rushes; and afterward, with Disadvantages, as Dancers are wont, with thick Shoes. For it breeds Perfection in any thing, if the Practice be harder than the Use.

WHERE NATURE is very powerful, and therefore the Victory hard, 'twill be necessary to proceed by certain Degrees. Which may be such: First, to stop NATURE for some Time; like to him, who, when he was Angry, used to say over the Letters of the Alphabet, before he did any thing. Se-

244 *Of NATURE, and*

condly, to moderate NATURE, and bring her down to smaller Portions; as if a Man, in Forbearing Wine, should come from Large Draughts to Lesser: And lastly, to Subjugate NATURE, and Quell it, altogether. But if a Man has so much Strength of Mind and Resolution, as to be able to disengage, and enfranchise himself all at once, that is best.

*Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentiã
pectus*

Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

NEITHER is the antient Rule to be Rejected: To bend NATURE, like a Wand, to the contrary Extreme; that it may come strait at last. Understanding it thus, where the other Extreme does not lead to Vice. Furthermore, Sing nor a Song of Triumph for Victory over NATURE, too soon; for NATURE will lie buried a long Time, and yet revive upon Occasion; As it was with *Æsop's* Damsel, turn'd from a Cat into a Woman; who sat very demurely
at

at the Table, till a Mouse happen'd to run before her. Therefore either avoid such Occasions altogether, or accustom your self frequently to them, that you may be the less affected with them. Every Man's NATURAL DISPOSITION is best perceiv'd in familiar Converse; for here there is no Affectation: In Passions; for they utterly cast off Precepts and Rules: Finally, in any new and unusual Case; for there Custom leaves him. I may call them happy Men, whose NATURAL DISPOSITIONS sort with their Vocations: Otherwise they may truly say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*: When they converse with those things they do not Affect. In Studies, whatever you find your NATURE averse to, set your self stated Times of Practising and Studying the same: But if it suits your Genius, you need not trouble your self about set Hours; for your Thoughts will fly to it of themselves, according as other Business and Studies shall permit. Every Man's NATURE, from an inbred Fa-

culty, produces either good or bad Herbs: Therefore let him diligently and seasonably water the One, and pull up the Other.



XXXIX. Of C U S T O M and E D U C A T I O N.

MEN'S Thoughts are commonly according to their Inclinations: Their Discourse, according to their Learning, and the Opinions they have imbib'd: But their Actions hold on, most an end, according as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as *Machiavel* well observes (tho' in an ill-favoured Instance,) There is no Trusting either to the Violence of Nature, or to the Bravery of Words; unless they be corroborated by C U S T O M. His Instance is this: That for the Achieving of some desperate and cruel Act,

Act, a Man should not rest upon the Fierceness of any Man's Nature, or his resolute Promises, much less Oaths; but that the Villany should be committed to such as have had their Hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew nothing of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor a *Fauregny*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*, nor a *Guido Faux*. Yet his Rule holdeth, That neither Nature, nor Resoluteness of Engagement, are of equal Force with CUSTOM. Only, Superstition is in our Times so well advanc'd, that * Assassins of the first Rank are nothing inferior to harden'd Butchers; and Votary Resolutions, even in Matter of Blood, are Equivalent to CUSTOM. In all other THINGS, the Predominancy of CUSTOM is very manifest; insomuch as it is miraculous, to hear what Professions, Protestations, Promises, Great Words Men will give; and yet, neglecting all this, do just as they used to do, as if they were Images

R 4 and

* In the Original English; *That Men of the first Blood are as Firm, as Butchers by Occupation.*

and Engines, perfectly inanimate, and moved and acted by the Wheels of C U S T O M only. We see also the Tyranny of C U S T O M in many other things. The *Indians* (I speak of the *Gymnosophists*, both Antient and Modern) lay themselves quietly upon a Stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay, the Women are in haste to be thrown upon the Funeral Pile with their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Antient Time, used to bear Scourging upon the Altar of *Diana* without a Squeek or a Groan. I remember in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, an *Irish* Rebel that was condemn'd put up a Petition to the Deputy, that he might be Hanged in a With, and not in a Halter; because that had been more usual with Rebels. There are *Monks* found in *Russia*, that, to compleat their Penance, will not refuse to sit a whole Winter-Night in a Vessel of Water, till they are ingaged with hard Ice. In short, a World of Examples may be brought,
of

of the Force of CUSTOM, even to A-mazement, as well upon the Mind as Body. Therefore, since CUSTOM is, as it were, the principal Moderator and Magistrate of Man's Life, let us by all means take Care to ingraft good CUSTOMS. Certainly CUSTOM is most strong, when it begins with Childhood: This we call EDUCATION; which is nothing else but a CUSTOM imbib'd from one's tender Years. So we see, that, in learning Languages, the Tongue it self is more pliant to all Expressions and Sounds; the Joints also more nimble and supple to all Postures and Motions, in Childhood or Youth, than afterwards. For it is most true, that those late Learners do not so well take a new Bent: Except it be in some Men, whose Minds are not yet fixt, and that have kept themselves open and prepared for all sorts of Learning, to the end they may receive continual Improvement; which is exceeding rare.

BUT if the Force of CUSTOM Simple and Separate be so great; the Force of
CU-

CUSTOM Copulate, and Conjoined, and Collegiate, is far greater: For there Example teaches, Company relieves, Emulation quickens, Glory animates: So that in such Places the Force and Influence of CUSTOM is, as it were, in its Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Virtues upon Human Nature depends upon Societies well Ordered and Disciplined. For well-administred Common-wealths, and good Laws nourish Virtue in the Blade, but do not much amend the Seeds thereof. But the World has this Unhappiness, that the most effectual Means are sometimes applied to the Ends least to be desired.



XL. *Of FORTUNE.*

IT cannot be denied, but outward Accidents have a mighty Stroke in raising or sinking a Man's FORTUNE:
The

The Favour of the Great Ones, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion fuiting a Man's Virtue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Man's FORTUNE is in his own Hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*, saith the Comedian. And the most frequent of External Causes is, That the Folly of one Man is the FORTUNE of another. For no Man rises so suddenly as by the Occasion of Another's Errors; according to the Adagy; *A Serpent, till he has devoured a Serpent, becomes not a Dragon.*

OPEN and apparent Virtues bring forth Praise; but they are secret and hidden Virtues that bring forth FORTUNE. Certain Deliveries of a Man's self, which have no Name. The *Spanish* Word (*Desemboltura*) partly expresseth them: That is, when there are no Knots or Impediments in a Man's Nature; but that the Wheels of his Mind keep pace with the Wheels of his FORTUNE. For so *Livy*, (after he had described *Cato Major* in these Words; *This Man had such a Strength*
of

of Body and Mind, that whereſoever he had been born, he ſeems to have been one that would have made his own FORTUNE;) adds this expreſſy, that he had a *Verſatil Wit*. Therefore if a Man look ſharply and intently, he ſhall ſee FORTUNE: For tho' ſhe be Blind, yet ſhe is not Inviſible. For the Way of FORTUNE is like the MILKY WAY in the Sky; which is a Meeting, or a Knot of a great many ſmall Stars, Inviſible aſunder, but Illuſtrious all together. So are there a Number of ſmall and ſcarce diſcernible Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs, that render Men FORTUNATE. The *Italians* note ſome of them, ſuch as a Man would little think. When they ſpeak of one, whoſe good FORTUNE they undertake for, they will throw in, into his other Qualities, that he hath *Poco di matto*. And certainly there are not to be found two more FORTUNATE Properties, than to have a little of the FOOL, and not too much of the HONEST. Therefore Extreme Lovers of their Country, or Prince,

were

were never FORTUNATE; nor indeed can they be. For when a Man hath placed his Thoughts out of himself, he cannot well go his own Way.

* A Hasty FORTUNE maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover; (the *French* hath it better, *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*,) but the Exercised FORTUNE maketh the Able Man.

CERTAINLY, FORTUNE is to be honoured and respected, if it be but for her Daughters, CONFIDENCE and REPUTATION: For these two Felicity breedeth; The First, within a Man's self; the Latter, in Others towards Him.

ALL wise Men, to keep off the Envy of their own Virtues, are wont to ascribe All to PROVIDENCE and FORTUNE;

* I have here followed the Original *English*. The *Latin* runs thus: *Fortuna præpropera, magna molientes, & nonnihil turbulentes efficit; at Fortuna exercita ea est, quæ efficit prudentes & cordatos*: An overhasty Fortune is apt to put Men upon Enterprizes, and to render them somewhat seditious and turbulent; but it is an Exercised Fortune that makes Men Wise and Prudent.

TUNE; for so they may with better Grace assume them. And besides, it adds a kind of Majesty to a Man, to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar*, to encourage the Pilot in a Tempest, said: *Thou carriest Cæsar and his Fortune.* Thus *Sylla* chose the Name of HAPPY, and not of GREAT.

AND it hath been observed, That those that have professedly ascribed too much to their own Wisdom and Policy, have ended UNFORTUNATE. It is related of *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, that after he had, in the Account he gave to the State of his Government, inserted, even to Nauseousness, this Clause; *And in This Fortune had no Part*; never prospered in any Thing he undertook afterwards.

CERTAINLY there are those, whose FORTUNE is like *Homer's* Verses, that have a Slide and Easiness beyond the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon's* FORTUNE, in Comparison with that of *Agésilas*, or *Epaminondas*. And to bring this about, doubt-

doubtless it lies very much in a Man's own Power.



XLI. Of U S U R Y.

MANY have made witty Invectives against USURERS. They say, it is Pity the Devil should invade God's Part, which is the Tithe. That the USURER is the greatest Sabbath-Breaker; For that his Plough goeth upon Sundays. That the USURER is the Drone that *Virgil* speaketh of:

----- *Agmine facto*

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent:

*All, with united Force, combine to drive
The lazy Drones from the laborious
Hive.*

Dryden.

THAT the USURER breaketh the First Law that was made after the Fall; which was, *in the Sweat of thy Face shalt Thou eat Bread*; and not, *in the Sweat*

Sweat of Another's Face. That USURERS should wear Orange-Tawney Bonnets, because they *Judaize*. That it is a Thing contrary to Nature, for Money to beget Money; and the like. But I say this only, *that USURY is one of the things that are allowed, because of the Hardness of our Heart.* For since there is a Necessity of Borrowing and Lending; and Men are so hard of Heart, that they will not Lend freely; it follows, that USURY must be permitted. Some others have advanced certain cunning and suspicious Propositions concerning Bankers, publick Exchanges, the Discovery of particular Men's Estates, and such like Artifices: But few have discoursed of USURY solidly and usefully. The best Way would be, to set before us the INCONVENIENCES and CONVENIENCES of USURY; that the Good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; again, warily to provide, that while by USURY we are carried on to that which is better, we be not intercepted by the
Way,

Way, and fall into that which is worse.

THE INCONVENIENCES of USURY are these: First, that it lessens the Number of Merchants: For were it not for this lazy Trade of USURY, Money would not lie still, but would in great measure be employed upon Merchandizing; which is the *Vena Porta* to a Kingdom to let in Wealth. The Second, that it impoverishes the Merchants: For as a Farmer cannot make such an Advantage of husbanding his Ground, if he sit at a great Rent; so the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well and gainfully, if he Negotiate with Money taken up at Interest. The Third INCONVENIENCE is a kind of APPENDIX of the other two; and that is, a Lessening of the publick Imposts and Customs, which Ebb and Flow in proportion to Commerce. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure and Monies of a Kingdom or State into a few Hands: For the USURER being at Certainties, and others at Uncer-

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tainties, at the end of the Game, most of the Money will be in the Box. And this is to be held for an unfailing Maxim, That a State flourishes most, when its Wealth is spread, not hoarded. The Fifth, that it beats down the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money is either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; and U S U R Y way lays both. The Sixth, that it dulls and damps all Labours, Improvements, and new Inventions; wherein Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruin of many Men's Estates, which, in process of Time, breeds a Publick Poverty.

ON the other side, the CONVENIENCES of U S U R Y are these: First, that howsoever U S U R Y in some respects hurteth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is most certain, that the greatest Part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, with Money borrowed at Interest; so as if the U S U R E R either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand
of

of Trade. The Second is, that if this easy Borrowing upon Interest did not relieve Men's Necessities, they would soon be reduced to the utmost Straits; in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Land or Goods) at too low a Rate: And so whereas Usury doth but Gnaw upon them, Hasty and Bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the Matter: For either Men will not take Pawns without Use; or if they do, in Case Payment be not made upon the very Day, they will go to the Rigour, and keep the Forfeiture. I remember a hard-hearted Money'd Man, that lived in the Country, used to say; *The Devil take this Usury, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds.* The Third, and Last is; That it is a Vanity to conceive, that there can be easy Borrowing without Use: Nor, again, were it possible to conceive the innumerable Inconveniences that would ensue, if those mutual Contracts of Bor-

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rowing

rowing and Lending were taken away. Therefore to speak of the utter abolishing of U S U R Y would be Idle. All States tolerate it in one Kind or Rate, or other; so that That Opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

LET us speak now of the Reformation and Regulating of U S U R Y; that is, how the I N C O N V E N I E N C E S of it may be best avoided, and the C O N V E N I E N C E S retained. It appears by the Ballancing the C O N V E N I E N C E S and I N C O N V E N I E N C E S, (which I have now done) that there are two Things to be Reconciled. The One, that the Teeth of U S U R Y be grinded, that it bite not too much: The Other, that there be opened a Way to invite Moneyed Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickening of Trade. And this cannot be done, unless you introduce two severall Sorts of U S U R Y; a L E S S, and a G R E A T E R. For if you reduce U S U R Y to one only Rate, and that a Low one, you will ease the Borrower a little; but the Merchant will be to
seek

seek for Money. And further it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being of all the most Gainful, may bear U S U R Y at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both these Intentions, the Way may be this. Let there be two Rates of U S U R Y: The One Free and General to All; the Other with Licence to certain Persons only, and in certain Places of great Merchandize. First therefore let U S U R Y in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred: And let that Rate be Proclaimed, that it may be Free to All: And for receiving the same, let the King or State renounce all Penalty. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Difficulty. This will be an Ease to infinite Borrowers in the Country, and elsewhere. This will in great measure raise the Price of Land; * because the Annual

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nual

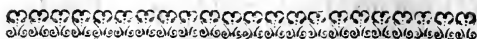
* *In the Original English*; Because Land purchased at Sixteen Years Purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more; whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five.

Annual Value of Land here with us in *England*, will exceed that of USE reduced to this Rate, as much as the Annual Value of Six Pounds exceeds that of Five only. Finally, this will whet and encourage the Industry of Men to the making profitable and gainful Improvements; because many will rather venture in this Kind, than take up with Five in the Hundred; especially having been used to greater Profit.

SECONDLY, let there be certain Persons LICENCED to lend to known Merchants, and to none else whomsoever: And let this be done with the Cautions following. Let the Rate (even with the Merchant himself) be somewhat lower than what he used formerly to pay. By this means, all Borrowers, be they Merchants, or Others, will have Ease by this Reformation. Let the Prince, or State, have some small Matter for each Licence; and the rest go to the Lender. For if the Abatement be but small to the Lender, it will not discourage him at

all from his Trade of U S U R Y: For Instance, he that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will rather be contented with Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade, or change Certainties for Uncertainties. Of these Licenced Lenders let there be no determinate Number; but yet let them be restrained to certain Cities and Towns, where Merchandize flourishes: For then they will not have an Opportunity, under Colour of L I C E N C E S, to lend other Men's Monies for their own; nor will the Licenced Rate of Nine or Eight swallow up the general current Rate of Five; since no one will chuse to lend his Monies far off, or to trust them in unknown Hands.

I F it be Objected, that this doth, in a sort, Authorize U S U R Y, which before was, in some Places, but Permissive: The Answer is, That it is better to mitigate U S U R Y by Declaration, than to suffer it to rage by Connivance.



XLII. Of YOUTH and AGE.

A Man that is Young in Years, may be Old in Hours, if he has lost no Time. But this happens rarely. Generally, YOUTH is like the first Thoughts, not so wise as the Second. For there is a YOUTH in Thoughts, as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of YOUNG Men is more lively than that of OLD; and Imaginations stream into their Minds better, and, as it were, more divinely.

NATURES that have much Heat, and that are driven to and fro by violent Desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they have reach'd the Meridian of their AGE. As we see in *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of whom it is said; *Juventutem egit, erroribus, imò furoribus,*

ribus, plenam. And yet he was the famousst almost in all the List of the Emperors. But Sedate and Composed Natures may Flourish even in YOUTH. Examples of which Thing are seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Cosmus Duke Florence*, and some Others. On the other side, Heat and Vivacity, if they are found in OLD AGE, make an Excellent Composition for Business. YOUNG Men are fitter to Invent, than to Judge; and good at Execution, rather than Counsel: and are fitter to be employ'd in new Projects, than in common ordinary Business. For the Experience of Old Men, in Things that fall within their Compass, directs them: But in New Things, it leads them astray. The Errors of YOUNG MEN are often the Ruin of Business: But the Errors of OLD MEN amount commonly but to this, That MORE might have been done, or SOONER. YOUNG MEN, in the Conduct and Management of Affairs, embrace Greater Things than they are able to Hold; Stir more
than

than they know how to Quiet again: Fly to the End, without well considering the Degrees and Means; Pursue absurdly certain Rules, that they have lighted upon by Chance: Use extreme Remedies at first: And, in fine, that which doubles Errors, will not Acknowledge, or Retract their Errors; like Ill-broken Horses, that will neither Stop, nor Turn. Men of AGE Object too much; are too long in Consulting: Fear Dangers, more than is Expedient; waver, and are unsteady by a too hasty Repentance; and very seldom drive Business home to the full Period; contenting themselves to enjoy a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly, it were good in Business to Compound both: For that will be good for the Present, to the end the Virtues of both AGES may correct the Defects of each: And good for the Future, that YOUNG MEN may Learn, while MEN in AGE Govern: And lastly, better for the composing and quieting of external Accidents, because Authority followeth OLD MEN, and Favour and Popularity YOUTH. IN

IN MORALS, YOUTH, perhaps, will have the Preheminence, as OLD AGE, in Politicks. A certain *Rabby*, upon the Text, *Your Young Men shall see Visions, and your Old Men shall dream Dreams*, inferreth thus; That GOD vouchsafes YOUNG Men a nearer Approach to him than OLD Men: Because VISION is a clearer and more manifest Revelation than a DREAM. And certainly, the more a Man drinks of the World, the more he is intoxicated with it: Besides, OLD AGE improves rather in the Powers of the Understanding, than in the Virtues of the Will and the Affections. There are some, who have an over-early Ripeness and Forwardness in their YOUTH, but in the Course of Years fade soon, and turn Insipids. These are first, such as have brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soon turn'd; such as was *Hermogenes* the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding subtil, but the Author soon after became Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some Natural Faculties,

culties, that are more becoming in YOUTH, than AGE: Such as a fluent and luxuriant Speech; which is commended in a YOUNG Man; but not in an OLD Man. Thus *Cicero* says of *Hortensius*: *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The Third is of such, as take too high a Strain at first setting out, and are endued with a Magnanimity, above what an Advanc'd Age is able to support: As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* saith: *Ultimæ primis cedebant.*



XLIII. Of BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a Rich Jewel, which is best, plain Set. And certainly, Virtue shews best in a Body that is Comely, tho' not of Delicate Features: And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, than BEAUTY of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very BEAUTIFUL Persons are of great Virtue; as if Nature had labour'd rather, not to Err, than to produce any thing.

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Excellent. Therefore they are good Company, but not of exalted Spirits: And study rather Accomplishment, than Virtue. But this holds not always. For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasian*, *Philip le Belle of France*, *Edward the Fourth of England*, *Alcibiades of Athens*, *Ismael the Persian*, were very Great Men, and, nevertheless, very BEAUTIFUL.

IN BEAUTY, Feature is before Complexion; and decent and agreeable Motion, even before Feature. That is the choice and best Part of BEAUTY, which a Picture cannot express; no, nor the Life it self, at first Sight. There is no excellent BEAUTY that has not some Disproportion in the Make.

It is hard to say, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, was the greatest Trifler: One of which was for making a Person according to Geometrical Proportions: The Other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, set himself to make one Excellent. Such Pictures, I think, would please no Body, but the Painter that made them. Not but that I think

a Painter may make a better Face than ever was: But he must do it by a kind of Felicity or Chance, (as a Musician that maketh an excellent Air in Musick) and not by Rule.

A Man shall see Faces, which, if you examine Part by Part, you shall scarce find one Part that you can approve separately: And yet all together they are pleasing enough. If it be true, that the principal Part of B E A U T Y consists in decent Motion, certainly it is no Wonder, that Persons in Years should seem sometimes more Amiable than Younger Men: According to that of *Euripides: Pulchrorum Autumnus Pulcher*. For it is impossible, that a Young Man should observe Decency in all Things, unless perchance you take in Youth it self to supply the Place of Decency.

B E A U T Y is like Summer-Fruits, which are easily corrupted, and last not long: And, for the most Part, it ushers in a dissolute Youth, and a penitent Old Age: Notwithstanding, if it light well, it makes Virtues shine, and Vices blush.



XLIV. Of DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED PERSONS are commonly revenged of Nature: For as Nature has been unkind to them; so they, on the other hand, are cross to Nature; being most of them (as the Scripture saith) *void of Natural Affection.*

CERTAINLY, there is a Consent between the Body and the Mind: And where Nature erreth in the One, She ventureth in the Other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is, in Man an Election touching the Frame of his Mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body; the Stars of Natural Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Virtue and Discipline. Therefore it is good to speak of DEFORMITY, not as a Sign, which sometimes deceives; but as a Cause, which seldom faileth of the Effect.

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WHOSOEVER hath any Thing in his Person that induces Contempt, has a perpetual Spur in himself, to rescue himself from Scorn: Therefore DEFORMED Persons are ever extreme Bold: First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn: But in Process of Time, by an acquir'd Habit. Again, DEFORMITY whets Industry; an Industry especially of this Kind, to search and pry carefully into the Defects and Infirmities of Others, that they may have somewhat to Repay. Furthermore, in their Superiors, it quenches Suspicion and Jealousy towards them; as Persons, that they think they may safely despise. And it lays their Competitors and Emulators asleep; as never dreaming of their Promotion to Honours, till they see them in Possession. So that, upon the Matter, in great Wits, DEFORMITY opens the Way to Rising.

KINGS in Antient Times, (and at this present in some Empires) were wont to put great Trust in Eunuchs:

For

For those that are Envious towards all, are more Faithful and Obnoxious to One. Yet they trusted them, rather as good Pryers and Whisperers, than as good Magistrates and publick Ministers. And the Reason is much the same in DEFORMED Persons. The Rule, I before laid down, holds: DEFORMED Persons, if they have Spirit, will vigorously strive to rescue themselves from Scorn and Reproach: Which must be, either by Virtue, or Malice: And therefore let it not seem strange to any one, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; as was *Agesslaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*: And *Socrates* may likewise go amongst the rest, with Others.



XLV. Of BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in, not to look on: Therefore let Use be preferred before Beauty; except

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where Both may be had. Let us leave the goodly Fabricks of HOUSES, that raise Admirati^on, to the *Enchanted Palaces of the Poets*, who build them with small Cost.

HE that builds a fair HOUSE, but in an ill Seat, committeth himself to Prison. Now I reckon it an ill Seat, not only where the Air is unwholsom, but likewise where the Air is unequal; as are those HOUSES, which are built indeed upon a rising Ground, but environed on all sides, like a Theater, with higher Hills; whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth, as in Troughs: So as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great a Diversity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in several Places.

NEITHER is it an ill Air only that maketh an ill Seat, but ill Ways, ill Markets, and (if you will hearken to *Momus*) ill Neighbours. I forbear mentioning many more, as want of Water; want of Wood for Fire and Shelter; Barrenness of Soil, or want of Mixture
of

of Grounds of several Natures; want of Prospect; want of level Grounds; want of Places at some near Distance for Hunting, Hawking, Racing; too near the Sea, or too remote; no Convenience of Navigable Rivers, or the Inconvenience of the same by their Overflowing; too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Business; or too near them, which swallows up all Provisions, and makes every Thing dear; where a Man hath a great Estate laid together, and where, on the other side, he is scanted and unable to spread his Wings: All which Particulars I enumerate, not with this Design, as if any Seat could be free from all these Inconveniences, but that as many of them may be avoided as is possible: And again, if a Man have several Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what Conveniences are wanting in the One, he may find in the Other. *Lucullus* answer'd *Pompey* well; who, when he saw in one of *Lucullus's* Palaces, his stately Galleries, and Rooms so large and light-

form; said, *Doubtless an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you do in Winter?* Lucullus answer'd, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some Fowl are, that ever change their Abode towards the Winter?*

LET us pass now from the Situation of the HOUSE, to the HOUSE it self; imitating *Cicero* in the ORATOR'S ART; who wrote Books *de Oratore* (of an Orator) and one Book intitled, *Orator*: the former whereof deliver the Precepts of the Art, and the latter the Perfection. We will therefore describe a PRINCELY PALACE, making a brief Model thereof. For it is strange to see now in *Europe* such vast BUILDINGS, as the *Vatican*, and *Escorial*, and some others are, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

THIS therefore I lay down, in the first Place, that you can have no perfect Palace, except you have two several Sides; a Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Book of *Hester*, and a Side for the Household: The one for
Feasts,

Feasts, Pomp, and Magnificence; and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be built, not as Wings of the House, but as Parts of the Front; and the same to be uniform without, tho' severally Partitioned within. These Sides I would have joined together by a lofty and stately Tower, in the midst of the Front.

As for the Side of the BANQUET, I would have there one Room only above Stairs, and Fifty Foot High at least; and under it, another Room of the same Length and Breadth, which may conveniently hold all the Preparations for Feasts, Plays, and such like magnificent Shows; also to receive the Actors, whilst they dress and prepare themselves.

As for the other Side, which is the HOUSEHOLD Side, I would have it divided chiefly into a Hall and a Chapel, both of them Spacious and Stately: But these not to go the whole Length of the Side; but to have at the further End two Parlors, a Winter and a Sum-

mer one: And under all these (excepting the Chapel) large Cellars sunk: And likewise privy Kitchens, with Butteries and Pantries, and the like.

As for the TOWER, I would have it Two Stories Fifteen Foot high each, above the Two Wings of the Front; and beautiful LEADS upon the Top, railed, with Statues interposed; And the same TOWER to be divided into Rooms as shall be thought fit. The Stairs likewise of the TURRET to be open, running back into themselves, and ever and anon divided by Sixes; incompassed on both Sides with Statues of Wood, Gilt, or at least of a Brass Colour, with a noble Landing Place at the Top. But this to be, if you do not appoint any of the lower Rooms for a Dining Place of Servants: For otherwise you shall have the Servants Dinner after your own: For the Steam of it will come up as in a Funnel. And so much for the FRONT. Only I understand the Height of the first Stairs to be sixteen Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Room.

BE-

BEYOND this FRONT is there to be a fair Court, but three sides of it of a far lower Building than the FRONT. And in all the four Corners of that Court fair Stair-Cases, cast into Turrets on the Out-side, and not within the Row of Buildings themselves. But those Towers are not to be of the Height of the FRONT, but rather proportionable to the lower BUILDING. But let not the whole Court be paved with broad square Stone; for such Pavements strike a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter: But let there be Walks of that Stone, on the Sides only of the Edifice, with the Form of a Cross in the middle, and with Quarters interposed, turfed with Grass kept shorn, but not too near shorn.

LET the whole Side of the Court on the BANQUET-PART be stately Galleries; in each of which Galleries let there be three or five fine Cupola's in the Length of it, placed at equal Distance: And fine Coloured Windows of several Works. On the HOUSEHOLD Side;

Chambers of Prefence, and others of ordinary Use, with some Bed-Chambers. And let all three Sides be a Double-House, not with thorow-Lights, but with Windows only on one Side; that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Forenoon and Afternoon. Contrive it also so, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter; Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You shall have sometimes fine HOUSES so full of Glass, that one cannot tell where to go to be out of the Sun, or Cold. As for Bow-WINDOWS, I hold them of good Use; (in Cities indeed UPRIGHT do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Street;) for they are convenient Retiring Places for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind and Sun off: For that which would strike almost thorow the whole Room, doth scarce pass the Window. But let them be but few, not exceeding Four; that is, Two on each side of the Court.

BEYOND this COURT, let there be another Inner COURT of the same Largeness and Height, which is to be environed with the Garden on the Outside, and in the Inside beautifully Cloistered and Arched as high as the first Story. On the Under-story towards the Garden, let it be turned to a Grotta, or Place of Shade or Estivation, open or window'd towards the Garden only. And let this Grotta be level with the Floor, not sunk at all under Ground, to avoid all Damps. And let there be a Fountain, or some magnificent Work of Statues, in the midst of this COURT, and to be paved as the other COURT was. The Buildings of this COURT to be for Privy-Lodgings on both Sides, and the End for Privy-Galleries. But Care must be taken, that one of them be designed for an INFIRMARY, if the Prince, or any of the Great Ones, should be Sick, with CHAMBERS, BED-CHAMBER, ANTICAMERA, and RECAMERA joining to it. Upon the Ground-Story a fair Gallery, open upon
Pil-

Pillars, to take the Prospect and Freshness of the Garden. At both Corners of the furthest Side, by way of Return, let there be two Delicate or Rich Cabinets, curiously paved, richly hanged, glazed with Chrystalline Glass, and a rich Cupola in the midst, and all other Elegancy that can be thought of. In the Upper Gallery too I would have, if the Place will afford it, some Fountains running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances.

AND thus much for the Model of the PALACE; save that you must have, before you come to the FRONT, three Courts: A Green Court Plain, with a Wall about it: A Second Court of the same Bigness, but more garnished with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments upon the Wall: And a Third Court, to make a Square with the Front, but not to be Built, nor yet inclosed with a naked Wall, but inclosed with TARRASSES leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three Sides; and Cloystered on the Inside with Pillars, and
not

not with Arches below. As for the OFFICES, let them stand at some Distance from the House, with some low covered Galleries, to pass from them to the Palace it self.



XLV. *Of* GARDENS.

GOD Almighty first planted a GARDEN. And indeed of all Humane Pleasures that of a GARDEN is the Purest. For it is the greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; without which, Buildings and Palaces are but gross Handy-works, and have nothing of Nature in them. Further, a Man shall see, that when Ages advance in Civility and Politeness, Men come to BUILD STATELY, sooner than to GARDEN FINELY; as if GARDENING were the greater Perfection.

I lay it down for a Rule, That in the Royal Ordering of GARDENS, there ought

ought to be GARDENS for all the Months in the Year; in which, severally, Things that are in Season in such or such a Month, may be produced. For *December*, *January*, and the latter Part of *November*, you must chuse such Things as are green all Winter; as Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypress, Ews, Box, Pines, Fir-Trees, Rosemary, Lavender, Periwinkle the White, the Purple, and the Blue; Germander, Flags, Orange-Trees, Lemmon-Trees, and Myrtle, if they be stoved; and Sweet Marjoram set near a Wall, and towards the Sun. There followeth for the latter Part of *January* and *February*, the Mezerion-Tree, which then blossoms; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Grey; Primroses, Anemones, the Early Tulip, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Frettellaria. For *March*, all Sorts of Violets, especially the single Blue, which are the Earliest; the Yellow Daffadil, the Dazy, the Almond-Tree, which then blossoms; the Peach-Tree in Blossom; the Cornelian-

nelian-Tree in Blossom; sweet Briar. In *April*, follow the double white Violet, the Wall-Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower, the Cowslip, Flower-de-luce's, and Lilies of all Kinds, Rosemary-Flower, the Tulip, the Double Piony, the Pale Daffadil, the *French* Honey-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Blossom, the Damfin and Plumb-Trees in Blossom, the White Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree.

IN *May* and *June*, come Pinks of all Sorts, especially the Blush-Pink, Roses of all Kinds, except of Musk, which comes later, Honey-Suckles, Strawberries, Bugloss, Columbine, the *French* Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Rasps, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the sweet Satyrian with the white Flower, Herba Muscaria, the Lilly of the Valleys, the Apple-Tree in Blossom.

IN *July*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties, Musk-Roses, and the Lime-Trees in Blossom, Early Pears and Plumbs in Fruit, Gennitings, Codlings.

In

In *August*, come Plumbs of all Sorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberies, Filbeards, Musk-Melons, Monks-hoods of all Colours. In *September* come Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October* and the Beginning of *November*, come Services, Medlars, Bullifes, Roses cut or removed to come late, Hollioaks, and such like. These Particulars that I have enumerated, suit the Climate of *London*; but my Meaning is, that you may have elsewhere a PERPETUAL SPRING, as it were, according to the Nature of the Place.

AND because the Breath of Flowers is far sweeter in the Air (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Musick) than in the Hand; therefore nothing contributes more to that Delight, which the Smell of Flowers yields, than to know what are the Flowers and Plants, which, as they grow, do best perfume the Air. Roses, as well Damask, as Red, are Flowers tenacious

nacious of their Smell, nor do they tinge the Air ; so that you may walk by a whole Row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetness, yea, tho' it be in a Morning Dew. Bays likewise yield no Smell as they grow: Rosemary not much, nor sweet Marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest Smell in the Air, is the Violet: especially the White double Violet, which comes twice a Year, about the middle of *April*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is the Musk-Rose, then the Strawberry-Leaves, dying with a most excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; it is a little Dust, like the Dust of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluster in the first coming forth. Then Sweet-Briar, then Wall-Flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a Parlour, or lower Chamber-Window. Then Pinks and Gilly-Flowers, especially the matted Pink, and Clove Gilly-Flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree. Then the Honey-Suckles, placed at a Distance.

Of

Of Bean Flowers I speak not, because they are Field-Flowers. But those which perfume the Air most delightfully, but then only when trodden upon and crushed, are Three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mint. Therefore you are to set whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleasure when you walk and tread.

THE Compass of Ground for GARDENS (speaking of those which are indeed PRINCE-LIKE, as we have done of Buildings) ought not to be under Thirty Acres, and to be divided into Three Parts; a Green in the Entrance; a Heath or Desert in the End; and the Main GARDEN in the midst; besides Alleys on both Sides. And I like well, that Four Acres of Ground be assigned to the Green, Six to the Heath, Eight to the Side-Walks, and Twelve to the Main GARDEN. The Green hath two Pleasures, the one to the Eye, to which nothing is more pleasant than green Grass kept finely shorn: the other, in that it will give you a fair Alley

Alley in the midst, by which you pass towards the Front of a stately Hedge, which is to enclose the Main GARDEN. But because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the Shade in the GARDEN, by going in the Sun thro' the Green; therefore you are on either side the Green to plant a Covert Alley of Carpenters Work about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may go all the Way under Shade into the GARDEN. As for the making Knots or Figures of divers coloured Earths, to lie under the Windows of the House, on that Side where the GARDEN stands, they are mere Toys: You may see as good Sights many Times in Tarts.

THE GARDEN is best to be Square, encompassed on all the Four Sides with a stately Arched Hedge; the Arches to be upon Pillars of Carpenters Work, of some Ten Foot High, and Six Foot Broad, and the Spaces between, of the same Dimension with the Breadth of

the Arch. Over the Arches let there be an entire Hedge, of some Four Foot High, of Carpenters Work also, and over this, a little Turret upon the Top of every Arch, with a Capacity sufficient to receive a Cage of Birds; and over every Space between the Arches some other little Figure, with broad Plates of round coloured Glass gilt, for the Sun to play upon. But this Hedge I mean to be raised upon a Bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some Six Foot, set all with Flowers. Also I understand, that this Square of the GARDEN should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave on either Side Ground enough for Diversity of Side-Alleys, unto which the two Covert-Alleys of the Green may bring you; but there must be no Alleys with Hedges at either End of this great Inclosure: Not at the hither End, for hindring your Prospect upon this fair Hedge from the Green; nor at the further End, for hindring your Prospect from the Hedge through the Arches upon the Heath.

FOR

FOR the ordering the Ground within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever Form you cast it into, it be not too curious, or full of Work. Images cut out in Juniper, or other Garden-stuff, I like not: They are for Children. Little low round Hedges, like Welts, with some pretty Pyramids, I like well: And in some Places also, Columns, and high Pyramids, of Carpenters Work, hedged round, I allow of. I would also have the Alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer Alleys upon the Side-Grounds, but none in the Main GARDEN. I wish also in the very middle a fair Mount, with three Ascents and Alleys, wide enough for Four to walk abreast, which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Imbosments, and the whole Mount to be Thirty Foot High, and some fine Banqueting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glasse.

FOR Fountains, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment; but let Pools and Fish-Ponds be banished: For they make the GARDEN unwholsome, and full of Flies and Frogs. Fountains I understand to be of two Kinds, the one that sprinkleth or spouteth Water, the other a fair Receptacle of Water, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the First, the Ornaments of Images gilt, or of Marble, which are in Use, do well; but the main Matter is, so to convey the Water, that it never stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern; so as that it be never by Rest discoloured, Green or Red, or the like; or gather any Moss or Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every Day by the Hand; also some fine Steps up to it, and some fine Pavement doth well. As for the other kind of Fountain, which we may call a Bathing-Place, it may admit much Curiosity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves; as that the Bottom be finely paved,

paved, and with Images, the Sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured Glasse, and such things of Lustre; encompassed also with fine Rails of low Statues. But the main Point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of Fountain; which is, that the Water be in perpetual Motion, fed by a Water higher than the Bath, and delivered into it by fair Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground by Tubes of equal Dimension, that it stay not. And for fine Devices of Arching Water without spilling, and making it rise in several Forms, (of Feathers, Drinking-Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they are pretty Things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

FOR the H E A T H, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed as near as may be to a Natural Wilderness. Trees I would have none in it, but some Thickets, made only of sweet Briar, and Honey-Suckle, with Wild-Vine amongst them, and the

Ground set with Violets, Strawberries and Primroses: For these are sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the HEATH, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little HEAPS, in the Nature of Mole-Hills (such as are in Wild-Heaths) to be set, some with Wild-Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a beautiful Flower to the Eye; some with Periwinkle, some with Violets, some with Strawberries, some with Cowslips, some with Dazies, some with Red-Roses, some with Lillies of the Valley, some with Sweet Williams Red, some with Bears-foot, and the like. Part of which Heaps to be with Standards of little Bushes prickt upon their Top, and Part without: The Standards to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries, (these but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossom) Red Currans, Gooseberries, Rosemary, Bays, Sweet-Briar, and such like. But these Standards to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Shape.

FOR

FOR the Side-Grounds, you are to distribute them into Variety of private Alleys, to give a full Shade, some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged at both Ends, to keep out the Wind. And those closer Alleys must be Gravelled, and no Grass, for fear of going wet. In many of these Alleys likewise you are to set Fruit-Trees of all Sorts, as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the Borders wherein you plant your Fruit-Trees, be fair and large, and low, and not steep, and set with fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they beguile the Trees. At the End of both the Side-Grounds, I would have a Mount of a pretty good Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Breast-high, to look abroad into the Fields.

FOR the MAIN GARDEN, I do not deny but there should be some fair Alleys ranged on both Sides, with Fruit-Trees, and some pretty Tufts of Fruit-Trees and Arbors with Seats, set in some decent Order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the MAIN GARDEN so, that it be not close, but the Air open and free; for as for Shade, I would have you content your self with the Alleys of the Side-Grounds, there to walk, if you are dispos'd, in the Heat of the Year or Day. For the MAIN GARDEN is for the more temperate Parts of the Year, Spring and Autumn: And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and Evening, or Over-cast Days.

FOR AVIARIES, I like them not, unless they be of such Largeness, as to be Turft, and to have living Plants and Bushes set in them; that the Birds may have more Scope and natural Nestling, and that no Foulness appear in the Floor of the AVIARY.

AND thus I have made a Plat-form of a PRINCELY GARDEN, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not an exact Model, but some general Lines of it: And in this I have spared no Cost. But it is nothing for GREAT PRINCES, who, as the Way now is, for the most part advise with Gardiners; and with no less Cost, put together, with little Judgment, various Things; and sometimes add Statues, and such other Things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing conducing to the true Pleasure and Delight of a GARDEN.



XLVII. *Of* NEGOTIATING.

IT is generally better to NEGOTIATE by Speech, than by Letter; and by the Mediation of a Third Person, than by a Man's Self. Letters are good when a Man has a Mind to draw out an Answer by Letter back again; or when it may be of Use to a Man to
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produce afterwards Copies of his own Letters, for his Justification: Finally, when a Man has reason to fear, least his Speech should be interrupted, or be heard by Pieces. On the other hand, it is better to NEGOTIATE in Person, when a Man's Face is apt to strike Reverence: As it commonly happens in Discourse with Inferiors; or in Tender Cases, where a Man's Eye being fasten'd upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may be a Direction to him, how far to go; and generally, where a Man has a Mind to reserve to himself a Liberty of Disowning, or Explaining.

IN NEGOTIATING by Others, it were better to chuse Men of a plainer Sort, that are like to do that which is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Success of the Thing; than those that are cunning to contrive out of other Men's Business somewhat of Honour or Advantage to themselves; and that are for softning the Matter, in Report, in order to Please. Use also
such

such Persons as affect the Business they are set over; for that quickneth their Industry: And such as have a kind of Aptness and Suitableness to the Matter they manage: As Bold Men for Exposition; Fair-spoken Men for Persuasion; Crafty Men for Observation and narrow Inquiry; Froward, and Men a little Absurd, for the transacting of Business that hath somewhat of Untowardness and Iniquity in it. Use also such as have been Lucky, and have Prevail'd in Things wherein you have employ'd them before: For this breeds Confidence, and they will leave no Stone unturn'd to maintain their Prescription, as I may call it.

It is better to feel the Man's Pulse, with whom you NEGOTIATE, and to sound him at a Distance, than to propound the Matter point-blank at first; unless you mean to hamper and surprize him by some short Question.

It is better NEGOTIATING with Men in Pursuit, than with those that are where they would be. If you NEGOTIATE

TIATE

TIATE with another upon Conditions, the Start of First Performance is All; but this you cannot reasonably Demand, unless the Nature of the Thing be such as ought to go before; or that you can handsomely insinuate to the other Party, that he will have Occasion for you in other Things; or, lastly, that you are counted a Man of extraordinary Honesty and Integrity.

ALL NEGOTIATION tends either to **DISCOVER**, or to **WORK**. Men **DISCOVER** themselves either by way of Trust; or when they are in Passion, and cannot well command themselves; or upon Surprize; or of Necessity, when they would have somewhat done, but cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would **WORK** any Man, you must either know well his Nature and Fashions, and so Lead him; or find out his Ends, and so Persuade him; or his Weaknesses and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or, finally, gain his Friends, that have greatest Interest in him, and so Govern him.

IN NEGOTIATING with cunning and crafty Persons, you must never believe their Words, unless you have their Ends and Intentions to interpret them: Further, it is best to say little to them, and that which they least look for.

IN all NEGOTIATIONS of Difficulty, a Man must not expect to Sow and Reap at once; but must prepare Business, and so Ripen it by Degrees.



XLVIII. *Of* FOLLOWERS *and* FRIENDS.

COSTLY FOLLOWERS are by no means to be admitted; least whilst a Man maketh his Train longer, he make his Wings shorter. Now I reckon COSTLY, not those only that charge the Purse, but such also as are importunate and troublesome in their Suits and Petitions.

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ORDINARY FOLLOWERS ought to expect no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, if Occasion be, and Protection from Wrongs.

FACTIOUS FOLLOWERS are still more to be avoided, who apply themselves to a Man, not so much out of Affection to him whom they Attend, as out of Displeasure conceived against some other. Whence there commonly follows that Misunderstanding which we many Times see between Great Persons.

LIKEWISE, those glorious FOLLOWERS, who make it their Business to be as Trumpets of the Praises of those they FOLLOW, do Abundance for Hurt; for they taint Business thro' want of Secrecy; and besides (if a Man consider it well) they Export Honour from their Patron, and make him a Return in Envy.

THERE is another Kind of FOLLOWERS likewise, which are very dangerous, being indeed no better than Spies, who inquire the Secrets of the Family,

Family, and whisper them to Others. Yet such Men many Times are in great Esteem with their Lords; for they are Officious, and commonly exchange Tales.

THE FOLLOWING by certain Estates and Ranks of Men, answerable to that which the Great Person himself professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath had the Chief Command in the Wars, and the like,) hath ever been esteemed a Thing Civil, and well taken, even in Monarchies; provided it be done without much Pomp and Popularity.

BUT the most Honourable PATRONAGE of all, is This; For a Man to profess Himself a Patron of those that are eminent for Virtue and Merit, of what Rank or Condition soever they are. And yet where there is no remarkable Odds in point of Desert, it is better to Patronize the Passible Middling Sort, than those that are more Eminent. And besides, to speak Truth, in Times that are any thing Corrupt,
Active

Active Men are of more Use than the truly Virtuous. Certainly, in Government, it is best to treat Subjects of the same Rank equally; for to countenance a Few extraordinarily, is to make Them insolent, and the rest discontented; since Parity of Degree demands, as of Due, equal Conditions of Grace. But contrariwise in Matters of mere Favour, to use Men with much Distinction and Choice, is Good; for it makes the Persons distinguish'd in Kindness more Thankful, and the rest more Officious: Nor can any one justly complain of this, since All is of Favour, and not of Debt.

It is a good Caution, not to make too much of any Man at first; for Following Favours can hardly hold on in the same Proportion.

To be Govern'd (as we say) by any one FRIEND, is not safe: For it shews Softness: Besides, it gives a Freedom to Scandal and Disreputation: For many that would not immediately Censure, or speak Ill of a Man himself, will make

no Scruple to talk boldly of those that are so great with Him, and thereby wound his Honour. Yet to be under the Power of, and to be variously distracted by Many, is still worse; for it makes Men to be of the LAST IMPRESSION, (as they now speak) and full of Inconstancy.

To take Advice of some few FRIENDS, is very Honourable, and of great Use; *For Lookers-on many Times see more than Gamesters*: And (as the Adagy is) *The Vale best discovereth the Hill*.

THERE is little FRIENDSHIP in the World, and least of all between Equals; which Kind was wont to be magnified among the Antients. That that is, will be found between Superior and Inferior, whose Fortunes may comprehend the One the Other.





XLIX. *Of* SUITORS.

MANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; and private SUITS do putrify the publick Good. Many Matters also are undertaken, good in themselves, but with bad Minds: I mean not only corrupt Minds, but crafty Minds; without any Intention of performing the Business. There are those, that will take SUITS in hand, and are forward to offer their Service, that never mean to deal effectually in them: But if they see there may be Life in the Matter by some other Hand, they themselves also will lay in for Thanks; or at least will catch at some Secondary Reward, or, lastly, will turn the Hopes of the SUITOR, whilst the Business is in Agitation, to their own Use.

SOME embrace SUITS, with an Intention only to cast in Hindrances and
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Impediments to other Men's Business, that is transacting at the same Time: Or to make some Information by the bye, for which otherwise they could have no apt Pretext, not caring what becomes of the SUIR, when that Turn is serv'd: Or generally, to make other Peoples Business a Bridge to their own. Nay, some act so treacherously as to undertake SUIRS with full Purpose to abandon them, in order to gratify the Competitor, or Adverse Party.

CERTAINLY, if a Man consider it, there goes along with every SUIR a certain Right, either of Justice, if it be a SUIR of Controversy; or of Merit, if it be a SUIR of Grace and Favour. If Affection lead a Man to favour the wrong Side in a Judicial Cause, let him rather use his Authority to compound the Matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the less worthy in Desert, let him abstain, however, from all Calumny, and speaking evil of the more deserving Person.

SUITS, that you do not well understand your self, refer to some trusty and judicious Friend; who may report, whether they are of such a Nature that you may promote them with Honour: But that Friend must be prudently and scrupulously chosen; otherwise he will put any thing upon you.

SUITORS now-a-days are so distasted with Delays and Abuses, that Plain-Dealing and Candor, either in refusing the Business at first; or in honestly reporting the Success thereof, be it what it will; or in challenging no more Thanks than one hath deserved; is grown a Thing not only Honourable, but Gracious.

IN SUITS of Favour, the offering of the SUIT first ought to be of no Weight: So far indeed Consideration may be had of the Faith of the SUITOR, in making a Discovery of the Matter, that if Intelligence of the Thing could not otherwise have been had but by him, it may be no Prejudice to him, but that he be rewarded rather.

To

To be ignorant of the Value of a **SUIT**, is Simplicity; as carelessly to neglect the Right thereof, is want of Conscience.

SECRECY in **SUITS** is a very likely Way to obtain them; for to give out that there is Hopes, though it may discourage some kind of Competitors, yet will it whet and awaken Others. But Timing of **SUITS** is the chief Thing of all. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Persons in whose Power it is to reject or grant them; but also in respect of those, that may be justly apprehended as likely to cross them. In the Choice of the Person that you commit the Care of your **SUIT** to, regard Fitness rather than Greatness; and rather use one that engages in few Businesses, than a Man that lays hold of all.

A repeated Denial is sometimes equivalent to a Grant; provided a Man shew himself neither dejected, nor discontented.

ASK an unreasonable Thing, that you may obtain a reasonable one; is a good Rule, where a Man is in great Favour: For otherwise it is more advisable for a Man to rise by degrees to the Thing he aims at, and to obtain something at least: For he that would not have scrupled at first to disoblige the SUITOR; will not, in the Conclusion, bear to lose both the SUITOR, and his own former Favour at once.

NOTHING is thought so easy a Request to a great Person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much Loss of Reputation to the Writer.

THERE is not a more pernicious sort of People in a State, than those general Framers of SUITS; for they are a kind of Poyson and Infection to publick Business.





L. Of STUDIES, and the Reading of BOOKS.

STUDIES, and READING of Books, serve either for Pleasure of Thought, or for Ornament of Discourse, or for Help in Business. Their Use, as to Pleasure, is chiefly perceiv'd in Retirement and Leisure: As to Ornament of Speech, it has Place, as well in Familiar, as Set Discourse: And as for Help in Business, it tends to this, *viz.* the Undertaking and Disposing of Affairs with more accurate Judgment. For Men, expert in the Practice of Affairs, are perhaps fit for the Execution of Business; and in Particulars judge not amiss: But Counsels and Contrivances concerning the general Sum of Affairs, and the Invention and right Administration of the same, come more happily from those that are Learned.

To spend too much Time in READING and STUDIES, is a specious kind of Sloth; to abuse the same effeminately for Ornament, is mere Affectation, which betrays it self; and to judge of Things, according to the Rules of Art, is altogether the Humour of a Scholar, and does not succeed well. Letters perfect Nature; and are themselves perfected by Experience. For Natural Abilities are like Plants, coming up of themselves, which require Culture, and the Pruning-Hook of Art: Learning, on the other hand, gives Directions too much at large, unless it be bounded by Experience. Crafty Men contemn Letters; Simple Men admire them; and Wise Men use their Help, as much as is convenient; for Letters do not sufficiently teach their own Use; but That is a certain Prudence, that lies without them, and above them, got by Observation only.

READ not BOOKS with a Design to Contradict, and to engage in Disputes; nor, again, to take all for granted, or
to

to Swear to the Author; nor, lastly, to set off your self in Talk and Discourse; but to Learn, to Weigh, and to Use in some measure your own Judgment.

SOME BOOKS there are which it is convenient just to taste only; Others, that we ought to swallow down whole; Some, lastly, but those are very few, that we should Chew and Digest: That is, some BOOKS are to be look'd into only in Parts; Others, to be read indeed, but not much Time to be spent upon them; And some Few to be turn'd over diligently, and with singular Attention. You will meet with many BOOKS also, which it may be sufficient to read by Others, and by Deputy, and to make only Extracts of them. But I would have this only done in the meaner sort of Arguments, and in less important Authors: For otherwise, BOOKS (to use that Expression) Distill'd, like common Distill'd Waters, will be very Flashy Things.

READING makes a Full and Well-furnish'd Man; Disputation and Conference,

rence, a Ready and Fluent Man; And Writing, and Collecting of Notes, imprints what we read in the Mind, and fixes it deep. And therefore if a Man is slack and fastidious in Noting, he had need have a good Memory: If he Confers little, he had need have a present Wit; and if he READS little, there is nothing left, but to use a kind of Artifice, whereby he may seem to Know what he does not.

THE READING of History makes Men Wise; Poets, Witty; The Mathematicks, Subtil; Natural Philosophy, Deep; Moral, Grave; Logick and Rhetorick, Pugnacious, and ready at Contending. *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, there is scarce found any inbred, or natural Impediment in the Understanding, but may be amended, and wrought out by a proper Study: As Bodily Distempers may be eas'd by appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomach; Riding for the Head, and

and the like. Thus, if any Man has a Rambling Wit, let him study Mathematicks: For in Mathematical Demonstrations, if the Mind strays never so little, he must begin again. If a Man's Wit is not ready at finding out Differences and Distinctions, let him betake himself to the Schoolmen; for they are *Cumini Sectores*. If he wants Quickness of Wit to run over Matters, and cannot with Dexterity call up one Thing to prove and illustrate another; let him turn over the Lawyers Cases: So every Indisposition of the Understanding may have its proper Remedy from Learning.



LI. Of FACTIONS.

MANY have an Opinion, by no means sound, *viz.* That a Prince, in the Government of his State, and a great Person, in the Direction of his Affairs, ought especially to regard the

FACTIONS

F A C T I O N S that prevail; and that this is a principal Part of Policy: Whereas, contrariwise, the Top of this Ability consists chiefly, either in ordering those Things, which appertain indifferently to all in general, and wherein Men of divers F A C T I O N S do, nevertheless, agree; or in caressing, winning, and dealing with particular Persons one by one. Yet I say not, that a due Consideration of P A R T I E S is to be neglected. Men of a mean Fortune, in their Rising, must adhere to some P A R T Y; but for great Men, and such as are in Possession of Honour, it is more adviseable, to keep themselves Indifferent, and Neuters. Yet even in the Case of Pursuers, to adhere so moderately, as that a Man may be thought of one P A R T Y, and yet not be odious to the Other, is the best Way to Preferment.

THE lower and weaker F A C T I O N, is commonly the firmer and steddier in Conjunction: And it is often seen, that a Few, that are stiff and obstinate, do, in

in the end, tire out and drive down a greater Number that are more Moderate.

WHEN One of the F A C T I O N S is extinguished, the remaining One subdivideth: As the F A C T I O N of *Lucullus* and the Nobles, held out awhile against the F A C T I O N of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; but when the Authority of the Senate and the Nobles was pulled down, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. In like manner, the F A C T I O N of *Antonius* and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out for some Time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus*, with their Parties, brake and subdivided. These Examples (you'll say) relate to F A C T I O N S in War: But the same Thing holdeth in private F A C T I O N S. And therefore those that were at first Seconds in F A C T I O N S, do, many Times, when the F A C T I O N subdivideth, prove Principals: Yet many Times also they lose all Power: For
many

many a Man's Strength lies in Opposition; and when that fails, he becomes useless. It is commonly seen, and is worth observing, That many, when they have gained their Point, and are in Possession of the Dignity they courted, take immediately to the contrary FACTION; thinking, belike, that they are already sure of the Affections of the other FACTION; and now are ready for a new Purchase.

THE Traitor in FACTION commonly goes away with the Prize; for when Matters have hung long in an equal Ballance, as it were, some one Person's going over to the contrary Side casteth the Scale, and he getteth all the Thanks. The carrying an even Hand between two FACTIONS, proceeds not always from Moderation, but from a crafty Design, (as every Man is truest to himself) of making an Advantage of both FACTIONS. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspicious in POPES, when they have often in their Mouth *Padre commune*, and take it to be a
Sign

Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the Greatness of his own House.

KINGS should of all Things take care, how they make themselves of a SIDE or FACTION with any of their Subjects; for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation *paramount* to the Obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King, *As one of us*; as was to be seen in the League of *France*.

WHEN FACTIONS are carried with a high Hand, and barefacedly, it is a Sign of Decay of Power in Princes, and much to the Prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The Motions of FACTIONS under Kings ought to be like the Motions (as the Astronomers speak) of the inferior Orbs, which may have their proper Motions but yet still are quietly carried round by the Higher Motion of the *Primum Mobile*.

LII. *Of CIVIL CEREMONIES and DECENT RESPECTS.*

HE that is only Real, had need have a great Share of Virtue: As the Stone, that is plain set, had need to be exceeding rich and pure. But if a Man mark it well, it is in Praise and Commendation, as in Gettings and Gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light Gains make heavy Purses.* For light Gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. In like manner, most true is it, that small Virtues win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use: Besides, there is constant Notice taken of them; whereas, on the other hand, there is but now and then an Occasion for the Exercise of any great Virtue. Therefore it contributes much to a Man's
Fame

Fame and Reputation, and is (as *Isabella of Castile* used to say) *like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, for a Man to have good and decent FORMS. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in the Behaviour of others: And for the rest, let him trust himself: For if he labour too much about them, they lose their Grace: Which consisteth chiefly in this, That they seem Natural and Unaffected. Some Men's Countenance and Gesture, and other outward Behaviour, is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a Man comprehend great Things, that stoops to such little Matters?

NOT to use decent CEREMONIES at all towards others, is to teach them to neglect the same to you; whereby you will render your self cheap. Especially they must not be omitted to those you are not familiar with; nor to Formal Natures: But Excess in them, and a Phrase perfectly Hyperbolical (as is

usual with some Men) is not only nauseous; but also diminishes very much the Faith and Weight of what is said.

CERTAINLY, there is a Kind of artificial Insinuation in the very Words of Complemental FORMS, which is wonderfully taking and engaging, if a Man can hit upon it. Among one's Equals, a Man need not trouble himself about Familiarity; That he may be sure of; and therefore it is good to be upon the Reserve, and to keep State a little. Amongst a Man's Inferiors, one shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it may not be amiss to be a little open and familiar.

HE that over-talks, or over-does any Thing, so as to tire People, lessens himself. To apply one's self to others, is good; provided it appear at the same Time to proceed, not from Easiness, but from Civility and good Breeding. It is a good Precept; when you go over to another Man's Opinion, yet always to add somewhat of your own. For Instance: If you Second his Motion,

tion, let it be with some Distinction, and no otherwise. If you consent to his Proposition, let it be with some Restriction or Condition. If you think good to follow and embrace his Counsel, let it be with alledging some further Reason why you do so.

A Man should by all means take care not to be esteemed a Complimenter, or Master of the Ceremonies; For be he never so sufficient otherwise, his Envyers will be sure to give him that Title, to the Disadvantage of his greater Virtues. It is also prejudicial to Business, to be too full of FORMS and RESPECTS, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* saith, *He that considereth the Wind, shall not sow; and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reap.* A Wise Man will make more Opportunities, than he finds. Men's outward Behaviour should be like their Apparel; not too strait or finical, but perfectly easy and free for Exercise, or Motion.



LIII. Of PRAISE.

PRAISE is the Reflexion of Virtue. And as it is in Looking-Glasses, it draws something from the Nature of the Body that yields the Reflexion. If it comes from the Common People, it is commonly a wrong and a false Reflexion; and rather accompanies the Vain and the Tumid, than Men of true Virtue. For a great many Virtues, that are Excellent, are above the Capacity of the Common People. The Lowest Virtues draw PRAISE from them; The Middle Sort strike them with Admiration, or Astonishment; But of the Sublime Virtues they have no Sense, or Notion at all. But Apparitions of Virtues, take most with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that bears up things Light and Swoln, and drowns things Weighty and Solid. Now if Men also of profound Judgment, and
of

of Character, concur with the Common People, then it is as the Scripture saith: *A good Name is like a fragrant Ointment.* It fills All round about, and does not easily go off. For the Odours of Ointments are more durable, than those of Flowers.

THERE are so many false Colours of PRAISE, that it may deservedly be suspected. Some PRAISES proceed merely from Flattery; And if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will make use of certain common Qualifications, and such as may serve every Man; not studied, or apposite Ones: If he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-Flatterer close; I mean, your self; and wherein you have an Opinion of your self, or think you Excel, there the Flatterer will dwell most: But if he be an Impudent, Brazen Flatterer, then where-soever you are most conscious to your self of your own Defect, and what you are most out of Countenance at in your self, That will the Flatterer principally entitle you to, and fasten upon you by

Force, and in spight of Conscience.

SOME PRAISES proceed from a good Inclination, accompanied with Reverence; which certainly is a Form of PRAISE due to Kings, and all Great Personages: *Laudando præcipere*, viz. When by laying before them, what they are, you humbly put them in mind, what they should be.

SOMETIMES Men are loaded with PRAISES, with a malicious Intention; to stir up Envy, and Hatred towards them; *pestimum genus Inimicorum laudantium*, as one says. Inso-much as it was a Proverb amongst the Greeks: That, *he that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Push immediately rise upon his Nose*: As there is a common Saying with us; *That a Blister will rise upon a Man's Tongue, that tells a Lye*. One may aver this, that Moderate PRAISE, given seasonably, and having nothing Vulgar in it, turns hugely to a Man's Honour. It is a Saying of Solomon's: *He that praiseth his Friend aloud, Rising early, it shall*

shall be to him no better than a Curse. For to Extol either Man, or Matter, to the Sky, provokes Contradiction, and exposes to Scorn. It is hardly allowable to praise a Man's self, except in very rare Cases: But a Man may praise his Vocation, and the Office he bears, or the Studies he has addicted himself to, with a good Grace; nay, with some kind of Magnanimity.

The CARDINALS of *Rome* (who are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoolmen) have a Phrase of the utmost Contempt and Scorn, towards Civil Business: For they call all Temporal Business (as of War, Embassages, Judicatures, and the like) by the *Spanish* Name of *Shirrerie*, which signifies *Under-Sheriffries*; as if those Arts became Under-Sheriffs and Catch-poles, rather than Men in their sublime Station. Though (if the Matter be rightly weigh'd) Speculative and Civil Affairs may go well enough together. *St. Paul*, when he boasts of Himself, sometimes interlaces, *I speak like a Fool*. But

speaking of his Calling, he is not ashamed to say, *I will magnify my Apostleship.*



LIV. *Of VAIN-GLORY.*

IT was a pretty Fiction, That of *Æsop*: *A Fly sitting upon the Spoke of a Chariot-Wheel, said to her self: What a Dust do I raise!* Thus are there some shallow vain Persons, that, when any thing goes on either of it self, or moves upon greater Means, if they have never so little hand in it, think presently it is they that turn the whole Machine.

THEY that are **GLORIOUS** are ever Factious; For there is no Ostentation without Comparing a Man's self. Again, they must needs be Violent, to the end they may make good their own Vaunts. Neither can they be secret; and therefore they seldom do any thing
 effe-

effectually; according to the *French* Proverb, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de fruit*; *Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet doubtless there is sometimes Use of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is a Fame to be raised, or an Opinion to be spread, whether of Virtue, or Greatness, such Men are excellent Trumpeters. Again, as *Livy* wisely noteth in the Case of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: *Reciprocal and cross Lies are sometimes of great Use*: As, when any One negotiates between Two Princes to draw them to join in a War against a Third; and to effect this, doth extol the Forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other. And sometimes also he that deals between Man and Man, raiseth his own Credit with both, by insinuating artificially, that he hath greater Interest with either of them, than he really hath. And in these, and the like Kinds, it often falls out, that SOMEWHAT is produced of NOTHING: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion; and Opinion brings on Substance. IN

IN Commanders, and Military Men, VAIN-GLORY is of Use; For as *Iron sharpens Iron*, so by Glory one Courage sharpens and excites another. Moreover, in great Actions, which are undertaken at the Charge, and Peril of private Men, GLORIOUS Natures put Life into Business; for those that are of a sober solid Temper, have more of the Ballast, than of the Sail. Again, in Reputation of Learning, a Man's Fame will be slow, and not well-wing'd, without some Plumes of Ostentation. *Those that write Books of the Contempt of Glory, put their Names to them. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen.* (Great Names) were of an Ostentatious Nature. Certainly, VAIN-GLORY helps exceedingly to propagate and perpetuate a Man's Memory: And Virtue it self is not so much beholden to Humane Nature, for the spreading her Fame, as to her self. For the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, had scarce lasted to this Day, or at least not so fresh, if it had not been joined with some Vanity

Vanity and Boasting in themselves. For Boasting seems to be like Varnish, that makes Wood not only Shine, but Last.

BUT while I am discoursing of VAIN-GLORY, I mean not by any means that Property, that *Tacitus* attributes to *Mucianus*; That he had a singular Faculty of setting off to Advantage every Thing he said or did: For this proceeds not at all from Vanity, but from Art and Prudence, accompanied with some Sort of Magnanimity: And in some Persons that are, as it were, made for it, it is not only Comely, but Gracious. For decent Excuses, seasonable Concessions, nay, and Modesty it self well govern'd, are but Arts of Ostentation.

AND amongst those Arts, there is none more successful than that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, *viz.* To be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that for which a Man himself is eminent. For thus He very wittily: *In commending another, you serve your self: For he that you commend, is either Superior to you in that*
you

you commend, or Inferior. If he be Inferior, and yet to be commended, you much more: If he be Superior, and yet not to be commended, you much less.

VAIN-GLORIOUS Men are the Scorn of Wise Men, the Admiration of Fools, and Slaves to themselves, and their own Vanity.



LV. Of H O N O U R and R E P U T A T I O N.

THE true and rightful Means of acquiring H O N O U R and R E P U T A T I O N, is This; For a Man to reveal his Virtues and Abilities handsomly and without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions are Wooers, and, as it were, Hunters of Fame: Which sort of Men are commonly much talk'd of, but inwardly little Reverenc'd. Others, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the shewing of it; whence it comes to
pass,

pass, that they are less esteem'd than they deserve.

IF a Man undertakes, and also performs a Thing, which had not been attempted before; or attempted, but given over; or brought perhaps to an End, but not so cleverly and happily; he shall gain greater Honour, than by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty in Deed and Moment; but wherein he trod only in another's Footsteps, and went no further.

IF a Man so put together and temper his Actions, as in some of them to please all Factions and Combinations of People, the Musick will be the fuller.

HE is by no means a good Husband of his HONOUR, that enters into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, than the carrying it through, can Honour him. HONOUR that is Comparative, and that weighs down and oppresses another, has the liveliest Reflexion; like a Diamond or Carbuncle cut with various Angles. Therefore use your utmost Endeavours

to out-do your Competitors, if you can, even in those things wherein they Pride themselves most.

SERVANTS, and familiar Friends, provided they are discreet and cautious, help much to a Man's R E P U T A T I O N : *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is, as it were, the Moth and Canker of H O N O U R, is best extinguish'd, by a Man's seeming to make it a Rule with himself, to court Merit, rather than Fame ; And by attributing his Successes, rather to Divine Providence and Felicity, than to his own Policies, or Virtues.

T H E true and best Marshalling of the Degrees of Sovereign H O N O U R, is this. In the First Place, Founders of Empires ; such as *Romulus, Cyrus, Julius Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael.* In the Second Place, Legislators ; who were also called, S E C O N D F O U N D E R S, or *Perpetui Principes* ; because they Govern Empires, by their Laws, even after they are gone : Such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonfus* of Castile,

Castile, Sirnam'd the WISE, that made the SEVEN PARTITIONS. In the Third Place, *Liberatores*, or SAVIOURS of their Countries; such as have put an End to long intestine Wars, or deliver'd their Countries from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants: As *Augustus Caesar*, *Vespasian*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoric*, *Henry the Seventh of England*, *Henry the Fourth, King of France*. In the Fourth Place, *Propagatores*, or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in Honourable Wars have enlarg'd the Territories of Empire; or have made Strenuous and Noble Defence against Invaders. In the last Place, are *Patres Patriæ*, that Reign justly, and Bless their People, as long as they live, with Happy Times. Of these two last I give no Examples, because they are in such Number.

DEGREES of HONOUR in Subjects are These. First, *Participes Curarum*; Those upon whose Shoulders Princes lay the greatest Weight of their Affairs: *Kings Right Hands*, as we call them. Next,

Next, *Duces Belli*, Great Leaders; Princes Lieutenants I mean; such as do them Notable Service in the Wars. In the Third Place, FAVOURITES; such I mean as exceed not this Scantling, to be a Solace to the Sovereign, and Harmless to the People. In the Fourth Place, *Negotiis paces*; such as have great Places under Princes, and execute them with Justice and Prudence. There is an HONOUR likewise, which happens rarely, and yet deserves to be ranked amongst the Greatest: That is, of such as Devote and Sacrifice themselves to Death and Danger, for the Good of their Country: As did *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decii*.



LVI. *Of the OFFICE of a* J U D G E.

JUDGES ought to Remember, that their OFFICE is *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*: I mean to interpret Laws,
and

and not to make Laws. Else Their Authority will be like That, claimed by the Church of *Rome*: Which, under Pretence of Interpreting Scripture, sometimes also adds and alters; and pronounces that, which She does not find; and under a Shew of Antiquity, introduces Novelty.

A JUDGE ought to be rather Learned, than Witty; Venerable, than Plausible; and more Advised, than Confident. Above all things, Integrity is the Portion, as it were, of JUDGES, and their proper Virtue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is He that removeth the Antient Land-Mark*. He that transposes a Stone, the Distinguisher of Bounds, is certainly to blame. But it is the Unjust JUDGE; that is the Capital Remover of Land-Marks, when he gives a partial Sentence of Lands and Property. Doubtless one foul Sentence does more Hurt than many foul Examples. For these do but corrupt the Streams; the other corrupts the Fountain. So saith *Solomon*: *A Righteous*

Man falling down before his Adversary, (causa cadens coram, &c.) is as a troubled Fountain, and a corrupted Spring, Prov. 24. 26.

THE OFFICE of a JUDGE may have Relation, partly to the Litigants; partly to the Advocates; partly to the Clerks and Ministers of Justice under them; and partly to the Sovereign or State above them.

As to the Litigants, or Parties that contend, *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn Judgment into Worm-Wood: And surely there be also, that turn it into Vinegar.* For Injustice maketh it Bitter, and Delays make it Sour.

A Strenuous JUDGE makes it his principal Business to restrain Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more pernicious, the more open it is; and Fraud, the more close and disguised it is. Add thereunto, Contentious Suits; which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfeit of Courts. A JUDGE ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as GOD prepares his; by *raising Valleys,* and

and *taking down Hills*. After the same manner, when a JUDGE sees on either Side a High hand, *viz.* a violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Great and Powerful Friends, Disparity of Counsel, and the like; then the Virtue of a JUDGE shines forth, in making Inequality Equal; that he may be able to plant his Judgment, as it were upon even Ground.

QUI fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem: And where the Wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. Therefore let JUDGES beware of hard Constructions, and strained Inferences. For there is no worse Torture, than the Torture of Laws. Especially in the Case of Penal Laws, they ought to have a care, that what were made for Terror, be not turned into Rigor: And that they bring not upon the People that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh: *Pluet super eos laqueos.* For Penal Laws, severely executed, are like a

SHOWER of SNARES falling upon the People. Therefore let such Laws, if they have slept long, or do not well suit the Present Times, be restrain'd by Prudent JUDGES, in their Execution. *Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita tempora rerum, &c.*

IN Causes of Life and Death, it becomes JUDGES (as far as the Law permits) in Judgment to remember Mercy; and to cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, and a Merciful one upon the Person.

As for the Advocates and Council that plead; Patience and Gravity in hearing Causes, is an Essential Part of a JUDGE; and a Judge too Interlocutory, is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Commendation to a JUDGE, first to find and lay hold of, in a Cause, a Thing which he might better have heard in due Time from the Council: Or to shew Quickness in cutting off Evidence or Council too short; or to prevent Informations by Questions, tho' pertinent.

THE Parts of a JUDGE in Hearing are Four: To draw up the Evidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech, in the Council, and Witnesses; To Recapitulate, Select and Collate the Marrow and material Points of what has been alledg'd; And at last to give Sentence. Whatever is more than this, is too much; and ariseth either from Vanity and Greediness to Speak; or from Impatience to Hear; or from Weakness of Memory; or from want of a sedate and even Attention.

It is strange to see often, how much the Boldness of Advocates prevails with JUDGES; whereas, on the other hand, JUDGES, in Imitation of GOD, (in whose Seat they sit) ought *to repress the Presumptuous, and set up the Humble*. But it is still more strange, that JUDGES should have open Favourites; Which must needs encrease and multiply Fees, and withal give Suspicion of Corruption, and of a Bye-way to the JUDGE.

THERE is due to the Advocate from the JUDGE, some Commendation and Gracing, where Causes are well handled, and fairly pleaded, especially if he lose his Cause: For this upholds in the Client the Reputation of his Council, and at the same time beats down, in him, the Conceit of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Publick a moderate Reprehension of Advocates, where they give too crafty Counsel, or gross Neglect appears, or slight Information, or indecent Pressing, or an impudent Defence. And let the Council pay so much Deference to the JUDGE as not to interrupt him, or to wind himself craftily into the handling of the Cause a-new, after the JUDGE has given Sentence. But, on the other side, let not the JUDGE thrust himself into the middle of the Cause; and before 'tis half pleaded; nor give Occasion to the Client to complain, That *His Council, or Proofs were not fully heard.*

As concerning the Clerks and Ministers; the Place of Justice is, as it were, a Hallowed Place; where not only the Seat it self, but the Under-seats also, and the Precincts of the Seat ought to be free from Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*: Neither can Justice yield her Fruit with Sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of greedy and rapacious Clerks and Ministers.

There are Four evil Attendants of Courts: First, certain Sowers of Suits, who make the Court swell, and the Country pine. Secondly, Those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction: Nor are they in Truth (as they are esteemed) Friends of the Court, but Parasites of the Court, in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. Thirdly, Those who may be accounted, as it were, *the left Hands of Courts*; Persons that are full of nimble and sinister Tricks and Shifts, whereby they

pervert the plain and direct Courses of Courts, and bring Justice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. Fourthly, the Pillagers and Exacters of Fees, who justify the common Resemblance of the Courts of Justice to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheep flies for Defence in bad Weather, he is sure to lose part of his Fleece. On the other side, an old Clerk, skilful in Precedents, wary in drawing up the Acts, and understanding in the Business of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court, and doth many Times point the Way to the JUDGE himself.

As for what may concern the Sovereign, or State; JUDGES ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*; *The Safety of the People is the Supreme Law*; and to lay it down for a Maxim, That Laws, unless they be in order to that End, are but captious Things, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy Thing in a State, when King or State often consults with JUDGES; and again,

gain, when JUDGES often consult with the King and State: The one, when Matter of Law intervenes in Business of State: The other, when some Consideration of State intervenes in Matter of Law. For many Times a Thing brought into Court may concern *Meum* and *Tuum*, and yet the Reason and Consequence thereof may reach to Point of State.

I understand by Matter of State, not only whatsoever touches the Rights of the Crown, but whatsoever introduceth any unsafe Alteration, or dangerous Precedent; or manifestly oppresseth any considerable Portion of the People. And let no one weakly conceive, that just Laws, and true Politicks have any Antipathy: For they are like the Spirits and Sinews, One moves with the Other.

LET JUDGES also remember, That *Solomon's* Throne was supported by Lions on both Sides: Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne: Bewaring

waring how they attack, or weaken any part of the Royal Prerogative.

FINALLY, let not JUDGES be so ignorant of their own Right and Prerogative, as to think, there is not left to them, as a principal Part of their Office, a sound and prudent Use and Application of the Laws. For they may remember, what the Apostle saith of a greater Law than Theirs; *We know that the LAW is good, provided a Man use it LAWFULLY.*



LVII. Of ANGER.

TO endeavour to Extinguish ANGER utterly, is a Bravado of the *Stoicks*. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your Anger.* ANGER must be limited, both as to Degree, and Time. We will first speak, How the Natural Inclination, or Habit of ANGER, may

may be temper'd and calm'd. Secondly, How the particular Motions of ANGER may be repressed, or at least restrain'd from doing Mischief. Thirdly, How to raise or appease ANGER in another.

FOR the First; there seems to be no other Way, than seriously to ruminate upon the Evils and Calamities of ANGER; and how vehemently it disturbs and infests the Life of Man. And the most seasonable Time to do this, is to look behind us, as soon as ever the Fit is over. *Seneca* says ingeniously, *That Anger is like Ruin, which, by falling upon something else, breaks and dashes it self to Pieces.* The Scripture exhorts us, *to possess our Souls in Patience.* Certainly, whosoever is out of Patience, is out of Possession of his Soul. It does not become Men to imitate Bees:

Animasque in vulnere ponunt.

Prone

*Prone to Revenge, the Bees, a wrathful
Race,
When once provok'd, assault th' Aggressor's
Face:
And thro' the purple Veins a Passage
find,
There fix their Stings, and leave their
Souls behind.* Dryden.

DOUBTLESS, ANGER, if a Man consider it well, is a mean Thing, and below the Dignity of Man. This will manifestly appear, by considering those Persons in whom ANGER Reigns: Who are generally of the weaker Sort; Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Therefore when they chance to be ANGRY, Men should take care (if they mean not to forget their Dignity) to carry their ANGER, not with Fear, but with Scorn of the Persons they are ANGRY with: Which is a Thing easily done, if a Man could govern and manage his ANGER a little.

As to the Second; The Causes and Motives of ANGER, are chiefly three.

First,

First, if a Man be too sensible of Injury: For no Man is ANGRY, but he that feels himself Hurt. Therefore Tender and delicate Persons must needs be every foot ANGRY: For they have abundance of Things to trouble them, which more robust Natures have hardly any Sense of. Secondly, if a Man be Curious and Quick in the Construction of the Injury offer'd, as to the Circumstances of it, as tho' it breath'd Contempt. For an Apprehension of Contempt excites, and puts an Edge upon ANGER, more than the Hurt it self. Therefore if Men are ingenious in picking out Circumstances of Contempt, they will strangely inflame their ANGER. Lastly, an Opinion, that a Man's Reputation is hurt and touch'd, increases and multiplies ANGER: Wherein the Remedy is, for a Man to have, (as *Consalvo* used to say) *telam honoris crassiozem*. But in all Restrainings of ANGER, the best Thing is, to win Time, and to persuade one's self, that the Hour of Revenge is not yet come, but

but that an excellent Opportunity for it is just at hand; and thus, to restrain in the mean time the Disorder, and to reserve himself for another Season.

To contain ANGER from doing Mischief, whenever it takes hold of a Man, there are two Things we must especially beware of. The First is, Bitterness of Words, especially if they be Stinging, and proper to the Person whom we smite; for common Reproaches bite less: And again, Revealing of Secrets: For this renders a Man unfit for Society. The next is, that you do not, in a Fit of ANGER, break off any Business that you have in Hand: But, however you give the Reins to Passion, that you act nothing, however, that is irrevocable.

For Raising or Appeasing ANGER in Others; This is done, chiefly, by a prudent Choice of Times. When Men are somewhat Sad, or a little out of Humour, then is the Time to incense them. Again, by gathering (as we said before) and inculcating whatever may
argue

argue or aggravate Contempt. On the other side, A N G E R is appeas'd by the two Contraries. First, by pitching upon Times of Serenity and Chearfulness, wherein to discover an unwelcome angry Business: For the first Impression is a great Matter. Next, by severing, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury from the Point of Contempt; imputing it to Inexperience, Fear, a sudden Passion, or the like.



LVIII. Of VICISSITUDE of THINGS.

SOLOMON saith; *There is no new Thing under the Sun.* Wherefore as *Plato* had an Imagination, *That all Knowledge is but Remembrance:* So *Solomon* pronounces, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the River *Lethe* runneth as well above Ground as below.

A certain abstruse Astrologer, and little known; asserts: *That if it were not for two Things that are constant; (The one is, That the Fixed Stars ever stand at like Distance one from another, and never come nearer together; nor go further asunder: The other, That the Diurnal Motion varies not) no Individual would last one Moment.* Certain it is, That Matter is in a perpetual Flux; and never at a Stay.

THE great Winding-Sheets that bury all Things in Oblivion, are Two: DELUGES, and EARTHQUAKES. As for CONFLAGRATIONS, and great DROUGHTS, they do not utterly dispeople; or destroy. *Phaeton's Chariot* went but a Day: And the *Three Years Drought* in the Time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left Many alive. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West-Indies*, they are but narrow, and extend not to any great Space of Country. PESTILENCES also I pass by, because those also do not totally Sweep. But in the other Two fore-

fore-mention'd Calamities, (DELUGES and EARTHQUAKES,) it is further to be noted, That the Remnants of People that happen to escape, are commonly Ignorant and Mountainous People; and such as can deliver down no Account of the Time past to Posterity; so that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left.

If a Man consider well of the People of the *West-Indies*, he will find it probable, That they are a newer or younger People, than the People of the old World. But it is much more likely, that the Desolation that had heretofore invaded them, was not by EARTHQUAKES (contrary to what the *Egyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*, That it was swallowed by an Earthquake:) but rather by a particular DELUGE. For EARTHQUAKES seldom happen in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such vast pouring Rivers, that the Rivers of *Asia*, *Africk*, and *Europe*, are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* like-

wife, or Mountains, are far higher than those with Us: Whereby it appears credible, that the Remnants of Generations of Men among them, were, after such a particular Deluge, there saved.

As for the Observation of *Machia-vel*; That the Jealousy and Emulation of SECTS hath labour'd much to extinguish the Memory of Things; branding *Gregory* the Great, for doing what in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities: I do not find, that those Zeals do any great Matter, or last long: As it appeareth in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who revived the former Antiquities. Besides, Things prohibited, tho' kept in Darknes, do, nevertheless, creep, and will have their Periods.

VICISSITUDES, or Changes in the Superior Globe, are not to be much insisted upon, in this Argument. It may be, *Plato's Great Year*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; not in Renewing the State of
like

like Individuals; (For that is the Fume and Vanity of those, who conceive the Celestial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon these Things below, than indeed they have) but only in the Sum and Gross of Things. Comets, out of Question, have likewise some Power and Effect over the Gross and Mass of Things. But Men, now-a-days, are either careless, or curious about them; and rather gaze upon them with Admiration, and wait upon them in their Journey, than wisely and soberly observe their Effects; especially their Respective or Comparative Effects: That is; what Kind of Comet, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Duration; produceth what Kind of Effects:

THERE is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it slighted, but taken notice of a little. They say, it is observed in the *Low-Countries*, (I know not in what Part) That every Five and Thirty Years the same Kind

and Sort of Years and Weather comes about again: For Instance, great Frosts, great Rains, great Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like. And they call such a Circle of Years, the PRIME. This is a Thing I the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found something like this; not to an Exactness indeed, yet without any great Variance.

But to leave these Points of Nature, and come to Men. The greatest VICISSITUDE of Things amongst Men, is, the VICISSITUDE of Sects and Religions. For those Orbs rule in Men's Minds most. The *true Religion is built upon a Rock*; the rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. Let us speak therefore of the Causes of new Sects, and intersperse some Counsel concerning them; as far as the Weakness of Human Judgment may be able to give Check, or Remedy, to so great Revolutions.

WHEN

WHEN the received Religion is rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors is decayed, and full of Scandal; the Times also Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; the Springing up of a NEW SECT may reasonably be feared; especially, if there should then arise any extravagant and unorthodox Spirit: All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his Law.

THO' a new Sect should shoot up, yet if it be destitute of two Props, fear it not; for it will not spread. The First is, the Supplanting or the Opposing of the Authority established: For nothing is more Popular than to destroy Civil Governments and States. The Other is, The giving Licence to Luxury and Voluptuousness. For as for SPECULATIVE HERESIES (such as were anciently the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) tho' they work wonderfully upon Men's Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in States, except it be by the Help of Civil Occasions.

THERE are three Ways of planting NEW SECTS: By MIRACLES, ELO-QUENCE, and the SWORD. As for MARTYRDOMS, I reckon them amongst MIRACLES; because they seem to exceed the Strength of Human Nature: And I may do the like of an exalted and admirable Holiness of Life.

CERTAINLY, there is no better Way to stop the Rising of NEW SECTS and SSCHISMS, than to reform Abuses; to compound the smaller Differences; to proceed mildly at first, and to abstain from Sanguinary Persecutions; and rather to soften and allure the Principal Authors, by favouring and advancing them, than to enrage them by Violence and Bitterness.

THE CHANGES and VICISSI-TUDES in Warlike Matters are many; but they lie chiefly in three Things: In the Seat of the War; In the Weapons; And in the Military Discipline. Wars in Ancient Time seemed chiefly to move from East to West: For the *Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Scythians,*
(who

(who were the Invaders) were all Eastern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Western; But we read but of two Incurfions of Theirs: The One to *Gallo-Gracia*, the Other againft the *Romans*. But East and West have no certain Points of Heaven; and no more have the Wars, either from the East or West, any Certainty of Obfervation. But North and South are fixed by Nature: And it hath feldom or never been feen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern: But, contrariwife. Whence it is manifef, That the Northern Tract of the World is in Nature the more Martial Region; Be it in refpect of the Stars of that Hemisphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the North; whereas the South Part (for ought that is known) is almoft all Sea; or (which is moft apparent) in refpect of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which, without any other Caufe whatfoever, hardens the Body, and fires the Courage.

UPON the Breaking and Shivering of a great State and Empire, you may be sure to have Wars. For great Empires, while they stand, enervate and destroy the Native Forces of the Provinces which they have subdued, trusting to their own Cohorts at Home: And when these fail also, all goes to Ruin, and they become a Prey to other Nations. So was it in the Declension of the *Roman* Empire; and likewise in the Empire of *Almain*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather: And some such Thing may likely befall the *Spanish* Empire, if it should break.

ON the other side, great Accessions of Dominion, and Unions of Kingdoms, do likewise stir up Wars. For when a State rises to an over-great Power, it is like the Swelling of a River, which presently threatens an Inundation; As it hath been seen in the Empires of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spain*, and others. Observe this: When the World abounds not with barbarous People, but they are

are generally civilized: Such as will not Marry at random or Generate, unless they foresee a Means of maintaining their Families handsomely, or at least of getting a Livelihood: (as it is almost every where at this Day, except *Tartary*;) there is no Danger of Inundations, or Removals of People into other Parts: But when there are great Sholes of People that are perpetually Generating, without any Care or Foresight of their future Fortune and Support, it must needs be, that once in an Age or two they discharge a Portion of their People, and seek new Habitations, and so invade other Countries: Which the ancient Northern People are wont to do by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part shou'd stay at Home, and what shou'd seek their Fortunes.

WHEN a warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a War: For commonly such States grow rich in the Time of their degenerating; and so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth other Nations to invade them. As

As for the Arms and Weapons, That hardly falls under Rule and Observation; yet we see even these have their Returns and VICISSITUDES. For certain it is, that Ordnance was known in the City of the *Oxydrakes* in *India*; and was that which the *Macedonians* called Thunder, and Lightning, and Magick. It is well known also, that the Use of Ordnance hath been in *China* above 2000 Years.

THE Conditions of Weapons, and their Improvements, are These: First, The Carrying a great way; for That out-runs the Danger; which is the Case of Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, The Strength and Force of the Percussion; wherein likewise Ordnance do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. Thirdly, The commodious Use of them; and here again Ordnance come in; which serve all Weathers, and are light and manageable for Carriage; and the like.

FOR the Conduct of War; in ancient Times Men depended extremely
upon

upon Number: They trusted likewise, to the Courage and Bravery of the Soldiers: They often appointed Days for pitched Fields, and so try'd it out upon an even Match; finally, they were more ignorant in Ranging and Arraying their Battles. Afterwards, They were for Number, Competent rather than Vast; they laid out for Advantages of Place, cunning Diversions, and the like: Lastly, they grew to be more skilful in the Ordering of their Battles.

IN the Youth of a State Arms flourish; in its Middle Age, Learning; and then both of them together for a Time: In its Declining Age, Mechanical Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath its Infancy, when it is Light and Childish: Then its Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile; Next, its Strength of Years, when it is Solid and Exact: Lastly, its Old Age, when it is dry and exhausted; but yet full of Talk. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning Wheels of VICISSITUDE, lest we become Giddy. As for Philology,

logy, which generally comes in upon this Argument, it is but a Heap of Tales and idle Stories, and therefore not fit for this Writing.



LIX. *A FRAGMENT of an ESSAY of FAME.*

THE Poets make FAME a Monster. They describe Her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say: Behold as many Feathers as she hath, so many Eyes also hath she underneath; so many Tongues, so many Ears pricks she up.

THIS is a Flourish. There follow excellent Parables; as that She gathers Strength in going; That She goes upon the Ground, and yet hides her Head in the Clouds; That in the Day-time She keeps Watch, and flies mostly by Night; That She sings Things done,
and

and Things not done; That she is a Terror to great Cities: But, what excels all the rest, They tell, that the Earth, Mother of the Giants that made War upon *Jupiter*, but were destroy'd by him, afterwards in Anger brought forth F A M E. For certain it is, that Rebels, which are represented by the Giants, and Seditious F A M E S and Li-bels, are but Brothers and Sisters, Masculine and Feminine. But now if a Man could tame this Monster, and bring Her to feed at Hand, and govern Her, and with Her fly other ravening Fowl, and kill them, it wou'd be somewhat worth. But we are infected with the Stile of the Poets. To speak now in a sober and serious manner; There is not in all Politicks a Subject less handled, and yet more worthy to be handled, than This of F A M E. We will therefore speak to these Points: What is false, and what true F A M E, and how they may be discerned: How Rumours may be sown and raised; How they may be spread and multiplied; Lastly, How

How they may be choaked and killed:
And other Things concerning the Na-
ture of F A M E.

F A M E is of that Force, that there is scarce any Action wherein it hath not a Part, especially in War: *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a F A M E that he had spread; That *Vitellius* purposed to remove the Legions of *Syria* into *Germany*; and the Legions of *Germany* into *Syria*: Whereupon the Legions of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed: *Julius Cæsar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and laid asleep his Industry and Preparations, by a F A M E that he cunningly gave out, How that *Cæsar's* own Soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the Wars, and laden with the Spoils of *Gaul*, would forsake him as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* settled all things for the Succession of her Son *Tiberius*; by continually giving out, that her Husband *Augustus* was upon Recovery and Amendment. And it is an usual Thing with *Bashaws*, to conceal the Death of the Great *Turk* from the *Janizaries*,
and

and Men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other Towns, as their Manner is. *Themistocles* made *Xerxes* King of *Persia* post out of *Greece*, by giving out that the *Grecians* had a Design to break his Bridge of Ships which he had made cross the *Hellespont*. There are a thousand such like Examples; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a Man meeteth with them every where. Therefore let all wise Governors have as great a Watch and Care over RUMOURS and FAME, as they have of the Actions and Designs themselves.

The Rest was not finished.





LX. *An ESSAY touching*
 HELPS for the IN-
 TELLECTUAL POWERS,
now first printed with the
 ESSAYS.

I Did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky Saying; *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*; (*Every Man may be the Architect of his own Fortune*;) except it be utter'd only as an Hortative, or Spur to correct Sloth. For otherwise, if it be believed as it soundeth; and that a Man entreth into an high Imagination, that he can compass and fathom all Accidents; and ascribeth all Successes to his Drifts and Reaches; and the contrary to his Errors and Sleepings: It is commonly seen, that the Evening Fortune of that Man is not so prosperous, as of him that, without slackning of his

his Industry, attributeth much to Felicity, and Providence above him. But if the Sentence were turned to this, *Every Man is the Architect of his own Wit and Understanding*; it were somewhat more true, and much more Profitable: Because it would teach Men to bend themselves to reform those Imperfections in themselves, which now they seek but to Cover: And to attain those Virtues and good Parts, which now they seek but to have only in Shew and Demonstration. Yet notwithstanding every Man attempteth to be of the first Trade of Carpenters; and Few bind themselves to the Second: Whereas, nevertheless, the Rising in Fortune seldom amendeth the Mind; But, on the other side, the Removing of the Stands and Impediments of the Mind doth often clear the Passage and Current to a Man's Fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed or no, that as the most excellent of Mettals, Gold, is of all other the most Pliant, and malleable; So, of all Living and

Vol. I. B b Breathing

Breathing Substances, the Perfectest, (Man,) is the most susceptible of *HELP*, Improvement, Impression, and Alteration; And not only in his Body, but in his Mind, and Spirit; And there, again, not only in his Appetite and Affection, but in his Powers of Wit and Reason.

FOR as to the Body of Man, we find many and strange Experiences, how Nature is over-wrought by Custom, even in Actions that seem of most Difficulty, and least possible. As first, in Voluntary Motion; which, tho' it be termed *VOLUNTARY*, yet the highest Degrees of it are not *VOLUNTARY*; For it is in my Power, and Will, to Run; But to Run faster than according to my Lightness, or Disposition of Body, is not in my Power, nor Will. We see the Industry and Practice of Tumblers, and Funambulo's, what Effects of great Wonder it bringeth the Body of Man unto. So for suffering of Pain and Dolour, which is thought so contrary to the Nature of Man, there
are

are many Examples of Penances, in strict Orders of Superstition, what they do endure; Such as may very well verify the Report of the *Spartan* Boys, who were wont to be scourged upon the Altar so bitterly, as sometimes they dy'd of it, and yet were never heard to Complain. And to pass to those Faculties, which are reckoned more INVOLUNTARY; As Long Fasting, and Abstinence; and the contrary Extreme, Voracity; the Leaving, and Forbearing the Use of Drink for altogether; The Enduring vehement Cold, and the like; There have not wanted, neither do want, divers Examples of strange Victories over the Body, in every of these. Nay, in Respiration, the Proof hath been of some, who, by continual Use of Diving, and Working under the Water, have brought themselves to be able to hold their Breath an incredible Time; And others, that have been able, without Suffocation, to endure the stifling Breath of an Oven, or Furnace, so heated, as tho' it did not scald, nor

burn, yet it was many Degrees too hot for any Man, not made to it, to Breath, or Take in. And some Impostors and Counterfeits likewise have been able to wreath, and cast their Bodies into strange Forms and Motions: Yea, and others to bring themselves into Trances, and Astonishments. All which Examples do demonstrate how variously, and to what high Points and Degrees the Body of Man may be, as it were, moulded, and wrought. And if any Man conceive, that it is some secret Propriety of Nature, that hath been in those Persons, who have attained to those Points; And that it is not open for every Man to do the like, tho' he had been put to it; For which Cause such things come but very rarely to pass.) It is true, no doubt, but some Persons are apter than others; But so, as the greater Aptness causeth Perfection, but the less Aptness doth not disable: So that, for Example, the more apt Child that is taken to be made a Funambulo, will prove more excellent in his Feats;
But

But the less apt also will be *Gregarius Funambulo* [*a middling Rope-Dancer, or of the common sort:*] And there is small Question, but that these Abilities would have been more common; And others of like sort, not attempted, would likewise have been brought upon the Stage, but for two Reasons: The one, because of Mens Diffidence, in prejudging them, as Impossibilities; For it holdeth in those Things which the Poet saith; *possunt, quia posse videntur*: [*They can conquer, who believe they can.*] For no Man shall Know, how much may be done, except he Believe, much may be done. The other Reason is, because they are Practices base and inglorious, and of no great Use, and therefore sequestred from Reward of Value; and, on the other side, painful, so as the Recompence ballanceth not the Travail and Suffering. And as to the Will of Man, it is that which is most manageable and obedient; As that which admitteth most Medicines to cure and alter it.

The most Sovereign of all, is Religion ; which is able to change and transform it, in the deepest and most inward Inclinations and Motions. And next to that, is Opinion, and Apprehension, whether it be infused by Tradition and Institution, or wrought in by Disputation and Persuasion. And the Third is Example, which transformeth the Will of Man into the Similitude of that, which is most obversant and familiar towards it. And the Fourth is, when one Affection is healed and corrected by another : As when Cowardice is remedied by Shame and Dishonour ; or Sluggishness and Backwardness, by Indignation and Emulation ; and so of the like. And lastly, when all these Means, or any of them, have new framed, or formed Humane Will ; then doth Custom and Habit Corroborate and Confirm all the rest. And therefore it is no marvel, though this Faculty of the Mind, (of Will and Election) which inclineth Affection and Appetite, being but the Inceptions and Rudiments of Will,

Will, may be so well governed and managed; because it admitteth Access to divers Remedies to be applied to it, and to work upon it. The Effects whereof are so many, and so known, as to require no Enumeration; But generally they do issue, as Medicines do, into two Kinds of Cures, whereof the one is a just, or true Cure; and the other is called Palliation. For either the Labour and Intention is, to reform the Affections really and truly; Restraining them, if they be too violent; And raising them, if they be too soft and weak; Or else it is, to cover them; Or, if Occasion be, to pretend them, and represent them. Of the former sort whereof, the Examples are plentiful in the Schools of Philosophers, and in all other Institutions of Moral Virtue; and of the other sort, the Examples are more plentiful in the Courts of Princes, and in all Politick Traffique: Where it is ordinary to find, not only profound Diffimulations, and suffocating the Affections, that no Note or Mark appear of

them outwardly; But also lively Simulations and Affectations, carrying the Tokens of Passions which are not; As *a Commanded Laugh*, and *Tears Forced*, and the like.



LXI. A CIVIL CHARACTER of *Julius Cæsar*.

JULIUS CÆSAR was Partaker at first of an exercised Fortune; which turned to his Benefit: For this abated the Haughtiness of his Spirit, and whetted his Industry. He had a Mind, *Turbulent* in his Desires and Affectations; but in his Judgment and Understanding very *Serene* and *Placid*: And this appears in his easy Delivery of himself, both in his Transactions and in his Speech. For no Man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously. Nothing intangled, nothing intricate could be observ'd in his Expressions.

pressions. But in his Will and Appetite he was one that never acquiesc'd in those Things he had gotten, but still advanc'd further; yet so that he would not rush into new Affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh Actions: For he always put a full Period to his Undertakings. And therefore tho' he won many Battels in *Spain*, and weakned their Forces by Degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the Reliques of the CIVIL WAR there, till he had seen all things composed: But then as soon as that was done, instantly he advanc'd an Expedition against the *Parthians*.

HE was, no doubt, a Man of an exceeding great Soul, yet such as aim'd more at his own particular Advancement, than at any Services to the Common-Wealth. For he referr'd all things to HIMSELF, and was the true and perfect Center of all his Actions. Which was the Cause of his very great, and almost perpetual Success and Prosperity.

For

For neither Country, nor Religion, nor good Turns done him, nor Kindred, nor Friendship, check'd his Designs, nor bridled him from pursuing his own Ends. Neither was he much inclined to Works of Perpetuity: For he establish'd nothing for Future Time; He founded no sumptuous Buildings; He procured to be enacted no wholsom Laws, but still minded himself only: And so his Thoughts were confined within the Circle of his own Life. He sought indeed after Fame and Reputation, because he thought they might be of some Service to his Designs. Otherwise in his inward Thoughts he propounded to himself rather Absoluteness of Power, than Honour and Fame. For as for Honour and Fame, he pursued not after them for themselves, but as Instruments of Power and Greatness. And therefore he was carried on by a Natural Impulse, as it were, not by any Moral Rules that he had learn'd, to affect the sole Government, and rather to enjoy the same, than to seem worthy of

of it. Which won him much Reputation amongst the People, who are no Valuers of true Worth: But amongst the Nobility and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the Brand of an **AMBITIOUS** and **DARING MAN**.

NEITHER did they much err from the Truth, for he was by Nature exceeding Bold, and never put on any Shew of Modesty, but to serve a Purpose. Yet notwithstanding, his Boldness was so fashioned, that it neither brought him under the Censure of Rashness, nor was burdensom and offensive to Men, nor rendred his Nature suspected, but was conceived to flow from an innate Sincerity and Freeness of Behaviour, and from the Nobility of his Birth. And in all other Things too he got the Reputation, not of a Crafty and Deceitful Person, but of an Open-hearted and Plain-dealing Man. And whereas he was the greatest Master of Counterfeiting and Dissembling, and wholly

wholly compounded of Artifices, so that there was not a Relick of his Nature left, but what Art had improv'd; yet nothing of Artifice, nothing of Affectation appear'd, but he was reputed to enjoy and follow his Natural Temper and Disposition. However, he did not stoop to any petty and mean Artifices, such as those Men are oblig'd to use, who are unpractis'd in State Matters, and depend not so much upon their own Strength, as upon the Abilities of others, to support their Authority; being a Man perfectly skilled in all Human Affairs, and transacting all Matters of any Consequence by himself, and not by others.

HE was singularly skilful to extinguish Envy, and thought it not impertinent to his Ends to decline it, tho' it were with some Diminution of his Dignity. For aiming at a *REAL POWER*, he was content to decline and pass by all vain Pomp and outward Shew of Power throughout almost the whole Course of his Life: Till at last, whether

ther sated with the continual Exercise of Power, or corrupted by Flattery, he affected even the Ensigns of Power, the Style and Diadem of a King; which turn'd to his Destruction.

HE harbour'd the Thoughts of a Kingdom from his very Youth; and this, the Example of *Sylla*, the Affinity of *Marius*, his Emulation of *Pompey*, and the Corruption and Turbulency of the Times, naturally suggested to him. But then he paved his way to a Kingdom in a wonderful orderly Manner: First, by a Popular and Seditious Power; afterwards by a Military and Imperial Power. For first he was to break the Power and Authority of the Senate, which, as long as it remain'd entire, there was no climbing to immoderate and unlawful Sovereignty. After this, the Power of *Crassus* and *Pompey* was to be over-turn'd, which could not be done otherwise than by Arms. And therefore (as a most expert Architect of his own Fortune) he rais'd and carried

ried on his first Structure by Largeſſes; by corrupting the Courts of Juſtice, by renewing the Memory of *Caius Marius*, and his Party; (moſt of the Senators and Nobility being of *Sylla's* Faction) by the Law of diſtributing the Lands amongſt the Common People; by Seditious Tribunes, that he ſet on; by the Madneſs and Fury of *Catiline* and his Conſpirators, whom he ſecretly favour'd; by the Banishment of *Cicero*, upon which the Authority of the Senate turn'd; and ſeveral other the like Arts; But moſt of all by the Conjunction of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, both betwixt themſelves, and with Him; which was the thing that finiſh'd the Work.

HAVING accompliſh'd this Part, he preſently ſet himſelf to the other; being now made Proconſul of the *Gallia's* for five Years, and afterwards continu'd for five Years more; furniſh'd with Arms and Legions, and the Power of a Warlike and Opulent Province, and become Formidable to *Italy*.

FOR

FOR he was not ignorant, that, after he had ſtrengthen'd himſelf with Arms, and a Military Power, neither *Cræſſus* nor *Pompey* could bear up againſt him; the One truſting to his Riches, the Other to his Fame and Reputation; One decaying in Age, the Other in Authority; neither of them depending upon true and ſtable Foundations. All which things ſucceeded to his Deſire; eſpecially having ty'd and oblig'd all the Senators and Magiſtrates, and, in a Word, all that had any Power, ſo firmly to himſelf, by private Benefits, that he was fearleſs of any Conſpiracy, or Combination againſt his Deſigns, till he had openly invaded the Common-Wealth.

WHICH Thing, tho' he had ever deſign'd, and at laſt acted, yet he did not lay aſide his Mask; but carried himſelf ſo, that, what with the Reaſonableneſs of his Demands, what with his Pretences of Peace, and what with the moderate Uſe of his Succeſſes, he turn'd the Envy upon the adverſe Party, and pretended to take up Arms up-
on

on Necessity, for his own Preservation and Safety. The Falseness of which Pretence manifestly appear'd, when having obtain'd the Regal Power, (the Civil Wars ended, and all his Rivals, that might give him any Concern, being slain and removed out of the way;) notwithstanding he never once thought of restoring the Republick, nor vouchsafed so much as any Shew or Pretence of it. Which clearly shews, that he had ever a Desire and Design of being a King. For he did not lay hold upon Occasions as they happened, but form'd and work'd out Occasions Himself. His chief Ability shone in Martial Affairs; in which he so excell'd, that he could not only lead an Army, but mould an Army to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing Affairs, than in winning of Hearts. Neither did he effect this by any ordinary Discipline, which might inure them to Obedience, or strike Shame into them, or keep them in Awe by Fear; but by such a way as did wonderfully stir up
an

an Ardor and Alacrity in them, and did in a manner assure him of the Victory before-hand; and which endear'd the Soldiery to him, more than was expedient for a FREE STATE.

AND whereas he was engaged in Wars of all Kinds, and joined Civil Arts with Military, nothing came so suddenly, or surprizingly upon him, but he had a Remedy at hand for it; and nothing so adverse, but he drew something out of it to his Advantage.

HE had a due Regard to his State and Character; for in great Battels he would sit in his Pavilion, and manage all by Messages. From which he receiv'd a double Advantage; that he both put himself the seldomer in Danger; and in case of a Turn for the worst, renew'd the Battel by his own Presence, as by a fresh Supply of Auxiliaries. In all his Military Preparations he did not conduct his Affairs by Precedent only, but still devised new Schemes, according to the present Exigence of Accidents and Occasions.

HE was constant enough, and singularly beneficent and indulgent in his Friendships. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such Friends, that a Man might easily discern that he lookt out for such, whose Friendship might be a Furtherance to him, not an Impediment in his Designs. And whereas he was carried, both by Nature and Custom, to this Principle; not to be Eminent among Great Men, but to Command amongst Vassals, he made Mean and Industrious Men his Friends, to whom himself might be All in All. Hence grew that Saying; *So let Cæsar live, though I dye*; and other Speeches of that kind. As for the Nobility, and his Equals, he contracted Friendship with them according as they serv'd his Turn; but admitted none to his Cabinet-Council, but those that had their Fortunes wholly depending upon him.

HE was competently furnish'd with Literature, but such chiefly as contributed any Thing to Civil Policy. For he was well vers'd in History, and understood

derstood wonderfully well the Weight and Edge of Words; and because he attributed much to his good Stars, he affected to be thought skilful in Astronomy. As for Eloquence, that was Natural to him, and Pure.

HE was inclin'd to Voluptuousness, and profuse in it; which serv'd at his first setting out for a Cover to his Ambition. For no one apprehended Danger from such a Disposition. Notwithstanding, he so govern'd his Pleasures, that they were no Disservice to him, nor Prejudice to Business, and rather whetted, than dull'd the Vigor of his Mind. He was temperate at his Meals; Free from Niceness and Curiosity in his Amours; Pleasant and Magnificent at publick Interludes.

Thus being accomplish'd, the same Thing was the Means of his Downfall at last, which in his Beginnings was a Step to his Rise; that is, his Affectation of Popularity: For nothing is more Popular, than to Forgive Enemies: through which, either Virtue or Cunning, he lost his Life. Cc 2 LXII.



LXII. *A CIVIL CHARACTER of Augustus Cæsar.*

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR (if ever any Mortal Man) was endued with a Greatness of Mind, Undisturb'd, Serene, and Well-ordered: Which is evidenced by the mighty Atchievements he perform'd in his early Youth. For those that are of a turbulent disorderly Nature, commonly pass their Youth in various Errours, and about their middle Age, and not till then, they shew themselves: But those that are of a sedate and calm Nature, may shine even in their first Years.

AND whereas the Faculties of the Mind, no less than the Goods of the Body, consist and are accomplish'd in a certain Health, Beauty and Strength; certain it is, that in Strength of Mind
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he was inferior to his Uncle *Julius*; in Beauty and Health, Superior. For the Former, being of a restless uncompos'd Spirit, (as those generally are, who are troubled with the Falling-Sickness) advanc'd, notwithstanding, to his own Ends with the utmost Prudence and Conduct; but the Ends themselves he did not Order well; but with a boundless Spring, aiming beyond the Reach of a Mortal Man, was still carried on to further Designs. Whereas *Augustus*, being sober, and mindful of his Mortality, seem'd to have had his Ends also schemed out in admirable Order, and thoroughly well weigh'd. For first he was desirous to have the Rule and Principality in his Hands; then he sought to make himself appear worthy of that Height of Power; Next, he thought it but reasonable, according to the way of the World, to enjoy his exalted Fortune: Last of all, he turn'd his Thoughts to such Actions as might continue his Memory, and leave an Impression of his good Government to After-Ages.

And therefore in the Beginning of his Age, he affected Power; in the middle of his Age, Dignity and Worthiness; in the Decline of his Years, Pleasure; and in his Old Age he was wholly bent upon Memory and Posterity.



LXIII. *A CIVIL CHARACTER of King Henry VII.*

THIS King (to speak of him in Terms equal to his Deserts,) was a kind of Miracle; a Miracle of that sort, which astonishes Wise Men, but does not much strike the Ignorant and Unexperienc'd. For he had many Particulars, both in his Virtues and in his Fortune, not so fit for a Common-Place, as for wise and grave Observation. Certainly, he was a Pious and Religious Man, both in his Affection and Observance: But as he could see
clearly

clearly enough (for those Times) thro' Superstition: So he would be blinded now and then by Politick Respects and Counsels. He advanc'd Church-men; He was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, though they wrought him so much Mischief. He founded and endowed many Religious Houses, besides his Memorable Hospital of the *Savoy*. And yet he was a great Alms-Giver in secret; which evidently shews, that his Works in Publick also were dedicated to God's Glory, not his own. He profess'd always to love exceedingly, and to seek PEACE to the utmost of his Power; And it was his usual Preface in his TREATIES; *That when Christ came into the World, PEACE was sung by the Angels; and when he went out of the World, the Lord himself bequeathed it.* And this cou'd not be imputed to Fear, or Softness in him, (being Valiant and Warlike) but to a Virtue truly Christian and Moral. Yet he knew the Way to PEACE, was not to seem to be too desirous of it, There-

fore wou'd he make Fames, and Rumours, and Offers of War, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace. This also is worth noting, that being so great a Lover of Peace, he should be so lucky in War. For his Arms and Expeditions, whether in Foreign or Civil Wars, were never unfortunate: Neither did he know what a Disaster meant. The War of his *Coming in*, and the Rebellions of the *Earl of Lincoln*, and the *Lord Awdley*, were ended by Victory: The Wars of *France* and *Spain*, by Peace, but Peace fought at his Hands: The War of *Britain*, by Accident of the *Duke of Britain's* Death: The Insurrection of the *Lord Lovel*, and that of *Perkin* at *Exeter*, and in *Kent*, by Flight of the Rebels, before they came to Blows: So that Felicity in Arms was peculiar to him, and still inviolate. A main Reason whereof, as to the restraining intestine Commotions, was, no doubt, this, that in the quenching of them, he ever appeared in Person. The Beginning of
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the Battel he would sometimes leave to his Lieutenants, reserving himself to back and second them: But was ever in some Part of the Action. And yet that was not merely Forwardness and Gallantry in him, but partly Distrust of others.

THE Laws of the Kingdom he ever held in great Honour, and would be thought to maintain and countenance them by his own Authority. Which, nevertheless, was not the least Impediment to him in effecting his Will. For he held the Reins of the Laws so dextrously, that neither Revenue, nor Prerogative, suffer'd any Diminution. And yet he so attemper'd Matters, that as he wou'd sometimes draw, and in a manner strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also in Turn designedly let down his Prerogative to the equal and moderate Level of the Laws. For the Disposition of the Mint, and Treaties and Counsels of War and Peace, and the Administration of Martial Affairs, (Things of Absolute Power)

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he would many Times refer to the Debates and Votes of Parliament.

JUSTICE was well and equally administred in his Time; save where the King was Party; save also that the Council-Table intermeddled too much in the Common Causes of *Meum* and *Tuum*. For that Council was then a mere Court, and Tribunal of Justice, especially in the Beginning of his Reign. But certainly in that Part of Justice and Policy, which is the Durable Part, and cut, as it were, in Brass and Marble, (which is, *The making of good Laws*,) he excell'd much.

AND with his Justice, he was also a Merciful and Clement Prince. As in whose Reign there were but three of the Nobility that suffer'd; the *Earl of Warwick*, the *Lord Chamberlain*, and the *Lord Awdley*. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquy of the People. But there never were so great Rebelions expiated with so little Blood, drawn from the Hand of Justice, as the
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the two famous Rebellions of *Exeter* and *Black-heath*. As for the Severity (of which there was no lack) us'd upon those that landed in *Kent*, it was but upon a Scum of People. His Pardons went ever both before and after his Sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of Interchanging large and perfectly unexpected Pardons, with severe Executions. Which (considering the Wisdom of so great a Prince) could not be imputed to any Inconstancy, or Inequality; but either to some secret Reason, which we do not know; or to a Rule he had set himself, *To vary, and try both Ways in Turn.*

BUT the less Blood he drew, the more he took of Treasure. And, as some maliciously enough construed it, he was the more sparing in the One, that he might be the more pressing in the Other: For both would have been Intolerable. Undoubtedly he was by Nature inclined to accumulate Treasure, and admir'd Riches too much for one

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in his High Sphere. The People (into whom there is infused, for the Preservation of Monarchies, a natural Desire to excuse their Princes, though it be often with the unjust Charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute this to *Cardinal Morton*, and *Reginald Bray*, Counsellors; which Persons, notwithstanding, (as it after plainly appear'd,) being those that had a great Sway from their antient Authority and Favour with him, did so second his Humour, as, nevertheless, to temper it in some Degree. Whereas, contrariwise, *Empson* and *Dudley* that followed, being Persons that had no Reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his Bent, did not give way only, but shape him way to those Oppressions and Extremities, for the extorting of Mony all manner of Ways, for which both himself was touch'd with Remorse at his Death, and which his Successor renounc'd, and sought to purge and expiate. This Excess of his had, at that Time, many

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Interpretations and Glosses. Some were of Opinion, that the continual Rebellions, wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it tended to pull down the Stomachs of the People, and to keep them low. Some, for that he desired to leave his Son a *Golden-Fleece*. Others, in fine, that he had some secret Design upon Foreign Parts. But those, perhaps, shall come nearer the Truth, that fetch not their Reasons so far off; but impute it to Nature, Years, Peace, and a Mind taken up with no other Ambition, or Pursuit. Whereunto I may add, that having every Day Occasion to take notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Money, in other Princes, it did the better (by Comparison) set off to him the Felicity of full Coffers.

As to the Measure observ'd by him in expending of Treasure, he kept to this Rule; never to spare Charge which his Affairs required. In his Buildings he was Magnificent, in his Rewards Strait-

Strait-handed; So that his Liberality applied it self rather to those Things that appertain'd to his own State, or Memory, than to the Rewarding of Desert.

HE was of an High and Exalted Mind; a Lover of his own Opinion, and his own Way; as One that revered himself, and would REIGN indeed. Had he been a Private Man, doubtless he would have been term'd Proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping a just and due Distance between himself and his Subjects; Which indeed he constantly did towards all; not admitting any to a near Approach, either to his Power, or to his Secrets. For he was govern'd by none of his People. His Consort, the Queen, notwithstanding she had bless'd him with divers fine Children, and with a Crown also, (tho' he would not acknowledge it) could do little with him. His Mother he reverenc'd indeed much, but seldom admitted her to a Participation of his Counsels. For any Person agreeable to him

him for Conversation, (such as was *Hastings* to King *Edward* the *Fourth*, or *Charles Brandon* after to *Henry* the *Eighth*) he had none; unless perchance we should account for such, Bishop *Fox*, and *Bray*, and *Empson*, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Workman. Vain-Glory he had as little of, as any Prince whatever; yet so as to abate nothing of State and Majesty, which he ever kept up to the Height; Being sensible, that the Reverence of Majesty keeps the People in Obedience: But Vain-Glory (if a Man rightly consider the Matter) prostitutes Princes to Popular Breath.

To his Confederates he was Just and Constant, yet Close and Cautious. Such was his Inquiry into them, and such, in the mean Time, his own Closeness and Reservedness, that they stood in the Light, as it were, towards him, and he stood, as it were, in the Dark to them. Yet without an Appearance of Strangeness, but rather with the Semblance

blance of one frankly and familiarly communicating his own Business; and, on the other hand, inquisitive into their Affairs.

As for little Envy and Emulations, (which are wont to pass between Princes, to the no small Detriment of their own Affairs) he had nothing of them in him; but went earnestly and substantially to his own Business. Most certain it is, that tho' his Reputation was great at Home, yet it was still greater and more illustrious Abroad. For Foreigners, that could not see the Conduct, and particular Passages of his Affairs, but saw only the Sums and Issues of them, noted that he was ever in Strife, and ever Superior. It was partly occasion'd also by the Letters and Relations of Foreign Ambassadors, which were attending the Court in great Number. To whom he gave Content, not only by Courtesy, Reward, and familiar Converse, but upon those Conferences with them, put them in no small Admiration, to find his Universal

verfal Insight into the Affairs of *Europe*. Which, tho' he had chiefly suckt from the Ambassadors themselves, and their Informations; yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their Superiors in high Terms, concerning his Wisdom, and Art of Rule. Nay, when they were return'd to their Countries, they frequently gave him Intelligence, by Letter, of all manner of Affairs worth knowing. Such a Dexterity he had, in endearing to himself Foreign Ministers.

CERTAINLY, he was careful, by all ways and means, to procure and obtain good Intelligence from all Parts. Wherein he did not only use the Industry of Foreign Ministers, Residing here, and of his Pensioners, which he kept both in the Court of *Rome*, and in other Princes Courts; but the Vigilance of his own Ambassadors also in Foreign Parts. For which Purpose, his Instructions were exact, even to Curiosity, and in Articles orderly digested; of

which, generally there were more touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation, requiring particular and articulate Answers respectively to his Questions.

As for his Emissaries, which he secretly employ'd both at Home and Abroad, to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him: Surely this, in his Case, was exceeding necessary. He had so many, as it were, under-ground Moles perpetually working to undermine him. Neither can this be held unlawful. For if Spials are approv'd in War against lawful Enemies, much more against Conspirators and Traytors. But indeed to procure Credit to such Spies by Oaths, and by Execrations, and Anathema's thundred out against them, as Enemies; that cannot be well maintain'd. For those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet that Industry of his in employing Emissaries had this Good in it, that as many Conspiracies were detected by the Use of them, so the Fame and Suspicion of them

them kept (no doubt) many from being attempted.

A Husband he was nothing Uxorious, nor even Indulgent; but Courteous, and Companiable, and without Jealousy. Towards his Children also he was full of Paternal Affection; very careful of their Education; aspiring also with a certain Altitude of Mind, to their High Advancement in Marriage; regular to see that all Honour and Respect becoming their Sublime Quality should be paid them by every one, but not greatly desirous to cast any Popular Lustre upon them.

To his Privy-Council he referr'd most Businesses, and sate often there in Person; well knowing this to be the right Way both to strengthen his Authority, and inform his Judgment. To which end also he was fairly patient of their Liberty, as well in Advising, as Voting, till he had declared his own Opinion, which he was wont to reserve to the End of the Debates.

HE kept a strait Hand upon his Nobility, and chose rather to advance to his Service Clergymen and Lawyers; who were more obsequious to him, and less gracious with the People; which made for his Absoluteness, but not for his Safety. Infomuch, as I am fully persuaded, that this Way of his was a main Cause of the frequent Com-motions that happen'd under his Reign: For that the Nobles of the Realm, tho' they were Loyal and Obedient, yet did not co-operate with him chearfully: But left his Desires rather to take their Chance, than urg'd their Accomplish-ment. He was never afraid of Servants and Ministers, of more exalted Parts and Abilities; as *Lewis the Eleventh* was. But, contrariwise, he made use of the most eminent Men of his Time; without which, his Affairs could not have prosper'd as they did. These were, for War, the *Duke of Bedford*, the *Earl of Oxford*, and *Surrey*; *Baron Daubeney*, and *Brook*; and *Poynings*, Knight. For Civil Affairs, *Morton*,
Fox,

Fox, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussy, Froswick, and others. Neither did he care how crafty and cunning they were, that he did employ; For he thought himself to have the Master-Reach. And as he shew'd great Judgment in the Choice of his Ministers; so he used as much Constancy in protecting those he had once chose. For it is a strange Thing, that, tho' he were a *Dark Prince*, and excessively Suspicious, and his Times turbulent, and full of Conspiracies; yet, in Twenty Four Years Reign, he never put down, or discomposed Counsellor, or near Servant, save only *Stanley*, the Lord-Chamberlain. As for the Disposition of his Subjects towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tye the Hearts of the Subjects to their Sovereigns, *Love, Fear, and Reverence*; he had the *Last* in Height, the *Second* in good Measure, and so little of the *Third*, as to be beholding for his Security to the other *Two*.

HE was a Prince, Sad, Serious, and Thoughtful; and full of secret Observations and Cares; and one that had Notes and Memorials always ready by him in his own Hand, especially touching Persons; As whom to pitch upon to Employ: Whom to Reward: Whom to Inquire of: Whom to Beware of: Who also were most nearly linkt together, either by Faction, or good Service, and had, as it were, taken a Side; and the like; Making and keeping a Diary, in a manner, of his Thoughts. There is to this Day a merry Tale; That his Monkey (set on, as was thought, by one of his Bed-Chamber) tore, one Day, his Principal Note-Book all to Pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not that anxious Diligence) were ready to burst with Laughter.

BUT though he was full of Apprehensions and Suspensions, yet as he easily took them, so he easily discharg'd them, and made them yield to his Judgment. Whence they were rather troublesome
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to himself, than dangerous to others. Yet it must be acknowledged, that his Thoughts were so numerous, and so complicated, that they could not always stand together, but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither was it possible for him to be Wise, or Happy, so much beyond the Condition of Mortals, as always to weigh Things aright in their Proportions. Certainly, that Rumour, that raised him so many and so great Troubles (namely, that the *Duke of York* was saved, and still alive,) did, at the Beginning, get Strength and Credit from himself; being desirous of having it so thought, to the end of softning the Imputation of his Reigning in his own Right, and not in the Right of his Wife.

HE was Affable, and both Well and Fair-spoken, and would use strange Sweetness and Blandishments of Words, where he desired to persuade, or effect any thing that he took to Heart. He was rather Studious than Learned;
D d 4 reading,

reading, for the most Part, Books that were written in the *French* Tongue. Though he understood the *Latin*; as appeareth in that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others, that were well enough acquainted with *French*, nevertheless always wrote to him in *Latin*.

FOR his Pleasures, there is no News of them. And yet by his Instructions to *Marsin* and *Stile*, touching the Queen of *Naples*, it appears he could Interrogate nicely well touching Beauty, and the Parts thereof. He did by Pleasures, as Great Men do by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For there never reign'd a Prince that was more entirely given up to his own Affairs: Being wholly taken taken up with them, and himself wholly in them. Infomuch, as at Justs and Tournaments, and other Mock-Fights, as also Masks, and such-like Assemblies, he seem'd to be rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, than to be much taken or delighted with them.

No doubt, in him, as in all Men, (and most of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought upon his Nature, and his Nature again upon his Fortune. He ascended to the Crown, not only from a private Fortune, which might endow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an Exiled Man, which had given him the Spur of Industry and Sagacity. And his Times, being rather prosperous, than calm, had raised his Confidence by Success, but in the mean time had almost marred his Nature, by perpetual Vexations. His Wisdom, by his often evading of Perils, (which had taught him to trust to *Extempore* Remedies) was turned rather into a Dexterity to extricate himself from Evils, when they press'd him, than into a Providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in Nature, the Eyes of his Mind were not unlike the Bodily Eyes of some People, which are strong at Hand, but weak at a Distance. For his Wit increased upon the Occasion; and so much the more, if the

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Occasion were sharpened by Danger, And these Influences his Fortune had upon his Nature; nor were there wanting, on the other hand, certain Influences which his Nature had upon his Fortune. For whether it were the Shortness of his Foresight, or the Obstinacy of his Will, or the Dazzling of his Suspicions, or what it was; Certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of his Fortune, (especially there being no violent Occasion out of which they grew) could not have arisen without some great Defects in his Nature, and main Errors in the Radical Constitution of his Mind: Which he had enough to do to Salve and Help, by a thousand little Industries and Arts. But those do best appear in the Story it self. Nevertheless, take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings, in *France* and *Spain*, his Contemporaries, he shall find him more Politique than *Lewis* the *Twelfth* of *France*, and more Faithful and Sincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*. But if you shall

shall change *Lewis* the *Twelfth* for *Lewis* the *Eleventh*, who reigned a little before; then the Comparisons will be more pat, and the Parallels more true. For those Three, *Lewis* the *Eleventh*, *Henry*, and *Ferdinando*, may be esteemed as the Three *Magi*, among the Kings of that Age. To conclude, If this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himself; for what he Undertook, he Compassed.

HE was a Comely Personage, a little above Just Stature, well and strait-limb'd, but slender. His Countenance was such, as struck a Reverence, and resembled a little the Aspect of a Church-man. And as it was not dark or supercilious, so neither was it winning or pleasing: But as the Face of one Composed and Sedate in Mind: But it was not to the Advantage of the Painter; for it was best when he spake.

THE extraordinary Worth of this Prince may bear a Tale or two, that may put upon him something Divine.
When

When the Lady *Margaret*, his Mother, a Woman of rare Virtues, had divers Suitors for Marriage, she dreamed one Night, *That one in the Likeness of a Bishop*, in Pontifical Habit, did tender her *Edmund Earl of Richmond*, (the King's Father) for her Husband. Neither had she ever any Child but the King, tho' she had three Husbands. Upon a certain Festival-Day also, when *Henry the Sixth* (whose Innocency gave him Holiness) was washing after Dinner, and cast his Eye upon King *Henry*, then a Youth, he said; *This is the Lad, that shall at last possess quietly the Crown that we now strive for.* But that that may be truly thought Divine in him, was, that he had the Fortune of a TRUE CHRISTIAN, as well as of a GREAT KING; in living *Exercised*, and dying *Repentant*. So as he Triumph'd victoriously, as well in Spirituals, as Temporals; and had an Happy Warfare in the two Conflicts, both of *Sin*, and the *Cross*.

of King Henry VII. 413

HE was born at *Pembroke Castle*, and lieth buried at *Westminster*, in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chappel, and for the Sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly *Dead*, in the *Monument* of his *Tomb*, than he did *Alive*, either at *Richmond*, or in any other of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like in this MONUMENT of his FAME.



TO

[illegible]



To the Happy Memory of
E L I Z A B E T H,
Queen of E N G L A N D,
O R, A
Collection of the Felicities
O F
Queen *Elizabeth.*

*Written by his Lordship in Latin;
And thus Englished.*



QUEEN *Elizabeth*, both in point of Nature, and Fortune, was Admirable amongst Women, and Memorable amongst Princes. But this is not a Subject that requires the Pen of a Monk, or any such Cloistred Censor. For these Men are keen
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in Stile, but wanting in Judgment; and perform the Scholar's Part well, but transmit *Things* but unfaithfully to Posterity. Certainly, this is a Knowledge peculiar to Men of the first Rank, and to such as have sat at the Helms of great Kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the Difficulties and Secrets of Civil Business.

RARE in all Ages hath been the Reign of a Woman, more rare, the FELICITY of a Woman, in her Reign; But most rare, a long Continuance joined with that FELICITY. As for this LADY, she reigned Four and Forty Years compleat; and yet she did not survive her FELICITY. Of this FELICITY, I have propos'd to say somewhat; yet without any Excursion into Praises. For Praises are the Tribute of Men, but Felicity the Gift of GOD.

FIRST, I reckon it as a Part of her FELICITY, that She was advanced to the Regal Throne, from a Private Fortune. For this is deeply planted in the Nature, and Opinions of Men, to look
upon

upon those Things which come un-
hoped, unlooked for, as a greater FE-
LICITY. But this is not that I intend;
it is this I mean; That Princes, that
have been trained up in the Family
Royal, and to an undoubted Hope of
Succession, are corrupted by an indul-
gent, licentious Education, and become
generally both less Capable, and less
Governable and Moderate in their Af-
fections. And therefore you shall find
those to have been the best and most
excellent Kings, that were Tutored by
both Fortunes. Such was with us,
King *Henry the Seventh*; and with the
French, Lewis the Twelfth; Both
which, in recent Memory, and almost
about the same Time, came to their
Crowns, not only from a Private, but
also from an Adverse and Afflicted For-
tune; And did excell, the Former in
Prudence, and the Other in Justice.
Much like was the Condition of this
Princess also; whose Beginnings and
Hopes Fortune chequer'd, that in her
Reign she might be constant and steady

318 *A COLLECTION of the*
to Her. For Queen *Elizabeth* was entitled from her Birth to the Succession, afterwards disinherited, then layed aside, and slighted; During the Reign of her Brother, her Fortune was more propitious and serene; during the Reign of her Sister, more tempestuous and hazardous. Neither yet did she pass immediately from the Prison to the Crown, so as to be sour'd and exasperated by her Misfortune, and to swell upon it; but being restored to her Liberty, and still growing in her Expectations, thus at last she obtain'd the Crown without Noise or Competitor, in a most happy Calm. And these things I mention, to shew, that Divine Providence designing a most excellent Princess, did, by such Degrees of Discipline, prepare and advance her. Neither ought the Misfortune of her Mother to sully the Lustre of her Birth; since it is sufficiently evident, that King *Henry the Eighth* was inflamed with a new Amour, before he was enraged against *Queen Anne*; and the Nature of that

Felicities of Queen Elizabeth. 419

that King passēs not uncensur'd by Posterity, as exceeding prone both to Amours and Jealousies, and violent in the same, even to the Effusion of Blood. Add to this, that she was circumvented by an Accusation, not probable, even as to the very Person to whom it referr'd, and built upon the weakest Conjectures; which was both secretly whisper'd at the very Time, and which *Queen Anne* her self protested, with an undaunted Greatness of Mind, and by a memorable Speech, at the Instant of her Death. For having got (as she supposed) a faithful and friendly Messenger, in the same Hour, when she was preparing for Death, she sent this Message to the King; *That his Majesty did excellently observe, and constantly keep to his Purpose, in heaping upon her new Honours; For, First, he had raised her from the Estate of a Gentlewoman only, and no way pretending to Noble Titles, to the Honour of a Marchioness; Next, had taken her into a Partnership both of his Kingdom, and Bed; And now, that there re-*

maintained no higher earthly Honour, he meant to exalt her Innocence, to a Crown of Martyrdom. But the Messenger did not dare to carry this to the King, who was inflamed with another Amour; However, Fame, the Asserter of Truth, convey'd it to Posterity.

NOR do I take it to be an inconsiderable Part of the FELICITY of Queen *Elizabeth*, even the Measure, and the very Race, as it were, and Course of her Reign: Not only for that it was long, but because it fell into that Season of her Life, which was fittest for Governing, and for the Swaying of a Scepter. For beginning her Reign at Twenty Five (at which Age the Curatorship ends) she continued it to the Seventieth Year of her Age. So that she neither experienc'd the Detriment attending Minority, and the Checks of Another's Power; nor, on the other hand, the Inconveniences of an extreme and impotent Old-Age. And Old-Age is attended with Miseries enow, even in private Men; but to
Kings,

Kings, over and above the ordinary Evils of Age, it occasions also a Declension in the State they govern, and an inglorious *Exit*. For there has scarce been a King that has lived to an extreme Old-Age, but he hath suffer'd in his Power and Esteem. Of this we have a very eminent Instance in *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, a most puissant Prince, and excellently skill'd in the Art of Governing; who, in his latter Days, and feeble Age, was thoroughly sensible of this whereof we speak: And therefore, with the highest Prudence, submitted to the Condition of Things; voluntarily quitted his Conquests in *France*, established a firm Peace in that Kingdom; and attempted the like in other Places; that so he might leave Things quiet and entire to his Successors. Contrariwise, Queen *Elizabeth's* Fortune was so constant, and firmly rooted, that no Declension of Affairs followed her still vigorous, tho' declining Years: Nay more, for an undeniable Token of her FELICITY, she dyed

not till the Rebellion in *Ireland* was fully ended by a Victory there; lest her Glory might appear any way disgrur'd and uncompleat. Besides, the Sort of People, over whom she reign'd, I take to be a Matter worthy to be considered. For had her Lot fall among the *Palmyrens*, or in soft and unwarlike *Asia*, it had been a less Wonder; since a Female Prince would have suited an effeminate People: But in *England*, a most stout and warlike Nation, for all Things to be directed, and kept in Subjection by the Nod of a Woman, is a Thing deserving the highest Admiration.

NEITHER did this Inclination of her People, greedy of War, and hardly patient of Peace, hinder her from maintaining and preserving Peace all her Time. And this Inclination of hers, join'd with Success, I reckon to be one of her chiefest Praises. For this was Happy for her Times, Becoming her Sex, and Comfortable to her Conscience. About the Tenth Year of her Reign, there was a
small

small Attempt of a Commotion in the Northern Parts, but it was presently suppress'd and extinguish'd. The rest of her Reign flourish'd in a Domestick Peace, and that a secure and profound one. Now I judge it a most FLOURISHING Peace, for two Reasons, which make nothing for the Merit of the Peace, but very much for the Glory of it. The one, that it was render'd the more conspicuous and illustrious, by the Calamities of our Neighbours, as so many shining Flames: The other, that the Blessings of Peace were not unattended with the Honour of Arms; since She not only preserv'd, but advanc'd the Renown of the *English* Name for Arms and Military Prowess, by many glorious Atchievements. For both the Supplies sent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; and the Expeditions by Sea into the *Indies*; and some of them made round the whole Compass of the Globe of the Earth; and the Fleets sent into *Portugal*, and to annoy the Coasts of *Spain*; and the

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Irish Rebels so often cut off and conquer'd, allow'd of no Remifness or Decay, either in the warlike Virtue of our Nation, or Diminution in the Fame thereof.

It was likewise a deserv'd Addition to her Glory, both that Neighbouring Kings were maintain'd in their Thrones by her timely Succours; and that suppliant States, which, by the Unadvisedness of their Kings, were abandoned, and, in a manner, devoted to the Cruelty of their Ministers, and to the Fury of the Multitude, and to all manner of Butchery and Desolation, receiv'd an Alleviation of their Miseries from her; by means whereof they subsist unto this Day. Nor was she a Princess, less beneficent and salutary by her Counsels, than by her Succours; as One that had so often interceded with the King of *Spain*, to mitigate his Wrath against his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, and to reduce them to his Obedience, upon some tolerable Conditions: And that had, with great Sincerity, Importuned the

the Kings of *France*, by perpetual and repeated Admonitions, to observe their own Edicts, promising Peace to their Subjects. I deny not but her Advice prov'd ineffectual: For as to the first, the Common Fate of *Europe* allowed not of it; least haply the Ambition of *Spain*, freed, as it were, from its Barriers, shou'd fly out, (as Things then stood) to the Prejudice of the Kingdoms and States of *Christendom*: And for the latter, the Blood of so many Innocents, with their Wives and Children, shed at their Fire-sides, and in their Chambers, by the Scum of the People, like so many furious Beasts heartned, and arm'd, and let loose upon them by publick Authority, would not suffer it; which Blood required, in Vengeance, that a Kingdom, render'd obnoxious to Punishment by so horrible an Impiety, should be expiated by intestine Slaughters and Massacres. She nevertheless, howsoever it succeeded, perform'd the Part, both of a wise and loving Confederate.

THERE

THERE is another Reason also for Admiring this Peace, which was so much fought and maintain'd by the Queen: And it is this, that it did not proceed from any Bent or Inclination of the Times, but from her Prudence, and discreet Management of Things. For whereas she had both an Inbred Faction, upon the Account of Religion, to struggle with at Home, and that the Strength and Protection of this Kingdom was a kind of Bulwark to all *Europe* against the then formidable and extravagant Ambition and Power of the King of *Spain*, there wanted no Matter of War; yet what with her Forces and her Policy, she surmounted these Difficulties. This was demonstrated by an Event, the most memorable of any that has happen'd in the whole Course of Affairs of our Age, if we consider the FELICITY thereof. For when the *Spanish Armada*, with so much Bravery, and to the Terror of all *Europe*, big with Expectation, and with so much Assurance of Victory, furrow'd
our

our Seas, it took not so much as one poor Cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one Village, nor so much as touch'd upon our Coast: But being defeated in an Engagement, was dispers'd by a miserable Flight, and by frequent Wrecks, and so left *England* and her Coasts in the Enjoyment of an unmov'd, undisturbed Peace.

NOR was she less happy in escaping the Treacheries of Conspirators, than in subduing and defeating the Forces of her open Enemies. For not a few Plots against her Life were most fortunately both discovered, and disappointed. Nor did she, upon this Account, lead a more fearful and anxious Life; there was no Encrease of her Guards; no confining her self to her Palace, and appearing but seldom in publick; But Fearless and Assured, and more mindful of her Deliverance, than her Danger, she altered nothing of her usual customs and ways of Living.

It is likewise worthy our Observation, to consider the Nature of the
Times

Times wherein she flourish'd. For some Ages are so barbarous and ignorant, that Men are as easily govern'd as Herds of Cattle, or Flocks of Sheep. But this Princess happened to live in a most learned and polite Age; in which it was not possible to be eminent without the greatest Endowments of Wit, and a singular Cast of Virtue. Again, the Reigns of Women are, for the most Part, eclipsed by their Marriages, and all the Praise of their Acts goes to their Husbands. But those that live unmarried have the whole Glory appropriated to themselves. And this is more peculiarly the Case of this Princess, because she had no Props or Supports of her Government, but those that were of her own making: She had no Brother by the same Mother; no Uncle; nor any other of the Royal Family that might be Partner in her Cares, and an Upholder of her Government. Nay, and for those whom her self had advanc'd to Posts of Honour, she both kept such a strict hand upon them, and

so

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so mixt them and shuffled them together, that she cast into each of them the greatest Sollicitude and Concern to Please, and was ever Mistress of her self. Childless indeed she was, and left no Issue of her Body behind her; Which has been the Case also of many of the most Fortunate Princes, of *Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Trajan*, and others; and which is a Point that has been variously bandied, and is usually disputed and argued contrary ways; whilst some take it as a Diminution of FELICITY, lest perchance they might be too happy for the Condition of Mortals, if they were blest'd both in their own Persons, and in the Propagation of their Species; and others accounting it as the Crown and Perfection of FELICITY; that FELICITY alone seeming to be compleat, over which Fortune has no more Power; which, if we leave Children behind us, can never be.

SHE had also external Gifts; A tall Stature; a good Shape; an extraordinary

nary Majesty of Aspect joined with Sweetness; a most happy State of Health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the very last, never experienc'd the Changes of Fortune, nor the Miseries of Old Age, and obtain'd that *Euthanasia*, which *Augustus Caesar* used so passionately to desire, by a gentle and easy *Exit*. This is also recorded of *Antoninus Pius*, that excellent Emperor; whose Death had the Resemblance of a sweet and gentle Slumber. So likewise in the Distemper of Queen *Elizabeth* there was nothing Shocking, nothing Ominous, nothing unusual to Human Nature. She was not tormented with Desire of Life, nor with Impatience under Sickness, nor with racking Pains. She had no dire or foul Symptom; But all Things were of that kind, as did argue rather the Frailty, than the Corruption or Disgrace of Nature. For some few Days before her Death, being pined by an extreme Dryness of Body, and those Cares that attend a Crown, and being
never

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never moistened with Wine, or with a full and plentiful Diet, she was struck with a Torpor, and Stiffness in her Nerves, notwithstanding (which is not usual in that Distemper) she retained her Speech, and Memory, and Motion, tho' but slow and dull. And in this Condition she continued but a few Days; so that it did not seem to be the LAST ACT of her LIFE, but, as it were, the FIRST STEP to her DEATH. For to live long after our Faculties are impair'd, is accounted miserable; but by a Slumber gradually laying asleep the Sense, to hasten to Death, is a fair and easy Conclusion of Life. I throw in this also, to make up the full Measure of her FELICITY; that She was exceeding happy, not only in her own Person, but in the Abilities and Virtues also of her Ministers of State.

FOR she had the Fortune to light upon such Persons, as perhaps this Island never before produced. But GOD, when he favours Princes, raises up and adorns the Spirits of their Ministers also.

THERE

THERE remain two POSTHUMOUS FELICITIES, which are, in a manner, more Noble and August than those that attended her living: The one of her SUCCESSOR, the other of her MEMORY. For she has gotten such a Successor, who, tho' he may exceed, and eclipse her Greatness, both by his Masculine Virtues, and his Issue, and by a new Accession of Empire; yet is zealous of her Name and Glory, and gives a kind of Perpetuity to her Acts; having made little Change either as to the Choice of Persons, or in the Method of Governing: So that a Son rarely succeeds a Father with so much Silence, and with so little Alteration and Disturbance.

As for her MEMORY, it is so much in the Mouths, and so fresh in the Minds of Men, that Envy being extinguish'd, and her Fame inflam'd by Death, the FELICITY of her Memory seems, in a manner, to vye with the FELICITY of her Life. For if there be any factious Fame, arising either from Party, or
Dif-

Difference in Religion, flying abroad, (and even that now seems fearful and abashed, and conquer'd by the consentient Voice of her Praises,) the same is neither true, nor can it be long-liv'd.

AND for this Cause especially, have I made this COLLECTION (such as it is) touching her FELICITY, and the Marks of GOD's Favour towards Her; that no malicious Person might dare to Curse, where GOD hath so highly Bless'd. Now should any one make the same Reply here, as one did formerly to *Cæsar*; *We have Matter enough for Admiration; but would fain see something to Praise.* Verily I am of Opinion, that true Admiration is a Superlative Degree of Praise. Neither can that FELICITY, that we have been describing, be the Portion of any, but such a one as is remarkably supported and cherish'd by the Divine Favour; and that has, in some measure also, carv'd out the same Fortune to himself by his own Morals and Virtues. Notwithstanding I have thought good

to add a Word or two concerning the Moral Part; yet only in those Things, which have ministred Occasion to some malicious Tongues to traduce her.

THE Queen, as to her Religion, was Pious, Moderate, Constant, and an Enemy to Novelty. And for her Piety, tho' the Marks of it are most conspicuous in her Acts and Administrations, yet were there visible Strokes of it, both in the Course of her Life, and in her ordinary Conversation. She was seldom absent from Divine Service, and other Duties of Religion, either in her Chappel, or Closet. She was very conversant in the Scriptures, and Writings of the Fathers, especially St. *Augustine*. She composed certain Prayers her self, upon some emergent Occasions. Whenever she mentioned the Name of God, tho' in ordinary Discourse, she generally added the Name of CREATOR; and composed both her Eyes and Countenance to some sort of Humility and Reverence; which I my self have often observ'd.

As

As for what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of her Mortality, to the degree of not being able to bear the Mention of Old Age or Death, it is absolutely false; since she her self, several Years before her Death, wou'd frequently, with much Facetiousness, call her self *the Old Woman*; and would discourse about what kind of Epitaph she liked; saying, that she was no Lover of glorious and pompous Titles; but only desired her Memory might be recorded in a Line or two, which should compendiously express only her *Name*, her *Virginity*, the *Time of her Reign*, the *Reformation of Religion*, and her *Preservation of Peace*. 'Tis true, in the Flower of her Age, and before she was past Child-bearing, when she was called upon to declare her Successor, she made Answer, *That she could by no means endure to have a Shroud held before her Eyes while she was living*. Notwithstanding, some Years before her Death, at a Time when she was full of Thought,

and probably meditating upon her Mortality, one of her Familiars mentioning in Conversation, that divers great Offices and Places in the State were kept void too long; she rose up, and said, with more than ordinary Heat, *That she was sure her Place would not be long void.*

As to her Moderation in Religion, we shall seem to be at some Stand, because of the Severity of those Laws which were made against her Subjects of the *Romish* Religion: But we will mention such Things as are both well known to, and were carefully observ'd by, us. Most certain it is, that this Princess was, in her Sentiments, averse from offering any Force to Consciences: Yet, on the other hand, would not suffer the State of her Kingdom to be endanger'd, under the Pretence of Conscience and Religion. From this ground she concluded, First, That to allow a Liberty and Toleration of two Religions by publick Authority in a Stout and Haughty Nation, and that would easily

easily fall from Disagreement in Judgment to Arms and Blows, would be most certain Destruction. Again, when her Reign was young, and all Things looked with a suspicious Face, she kept some of the Prelates, which were of a more turbulent and factious Spirit, Prisoners at large, but not without the Warrant of the Law: As for the rest, of both Orders, she was not troublesome to them by any severe Inquisition, but was a Protection to them by a generous Connivence. And this was the Posture of Affairs at first. Nor did she abate any thing almost of this Clemency, tho' provok'd by the Excommunication of *Pius Quintus*, (which might have rais'd her Indignation, and have been the Occasion of new Measures;) but still she retained her own generous Temper. For this most wise and magnanimous Lady was not a whit moved with the Noise of these terrible Threats; being secure of the Fidelity and Affection of her Subjects, and of the Inability of the *Popish* Faction within the Kingdom to

do her any Hurt, unless seconded by a Foreign Enemy.

BUT about the Three and Twentieth Year of her Reign, the Face of Affairs was changed. Nor was this Distinction of the Times artificially feigned, to serve a Turn, but it is express'd in the publick Records, and engraven, as it were, in Brass. For before that Year, none of her Subjects of the *Romish* Religion had been punish'd with any Severity by the Laws formerly enacted. But at this Time it was, that the ambitious and vast Design of *Spain* to conquer this Kingdom, began by Degrees to be discovered. A principal Part of which was, by all ways and means to raise a Faction in the Heart of the Kingdom, of such as were Ill-affected to the State, and desirous of Innovation, which might join the Enemy upon his Invasion.

THEIR Hopes of this were grounded upon the Difference there was in Religion. Therefore they resolv'd to labour that Point with all their might;
And

And the Seminaries at that Time budding, Priests were sent into *England*, to raise up and disperse a Love to the *Romish* Religion; To teach and inculcate the Power of the Pope's Excommunication, in freeing Subjects from their Allegiance; And to awaken and prepare the Minds of Men to an Expectation of a Change in Government.

ABOUT the same Time, both *Ireland* was attempted by an Invasion, and the Name and Government of Queen *Elizabeth* vilified and traduced by sundry scandalous Libels: In short, there was an unusual Tumor in the State, the Prognostick of a greater Commotion. Yet I will not affirm, that all the Priests were taken into a Participation of the Plot, or were privy to the Design carrying on, but only that they were the wicked Instruments of other Men's Malice. However, this is true, and witnessed by the Confessions of many, that almost all the Priests, that were sent into this Kingdom from the Year forementioned, even to the Thir-

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tieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, (where-
in the Design of *Spain* and the *Pope*
was put in Execution, by that memo-
rable Preparation of a Fleet, and Land-
Forces) had this also in their Instru-
ctions, among the other Parts of their
Function, to Insinuate, *That it was im-*
possible Affairs should continue long in
that Posture; That a new Face of
Things, and a thorough Change, would
be seen e're long; That both the Pope
and Catholick Princes are concern'd for
the English State, provided they are
not their own Hindrance.

AGAIN, some of the Priests had ma-
nifestly engag'd themselves in the Plots
and Contrivances, which tended to the
Undermining and Subversion of the
State; and (which was the strongest
Proof) the whole Train of the Plot was
discovered by Letters intercepted from
divers Parts; wherein it was written,
That the Vigilancy of the Queen and
her Council, touching the Catholicks,
would be baffled; For that the Queen
bad an Eye to this only, lest any Noble-
man,

man, or Person of Distinction, might arise to Head the Catholick Faction: Whereas the Design, they laid, was of this Nature, that all Things should be disposed and prepared by private Men, and of an inferior Rank, and that too without conspiring or conferring with one another, in the secret way of Confession. And these were the Artifices which were then used, and which are so familiar and customary to that Order of Men, (as might be seen also in a late Parallel Case.)

IN so great a Storm of Dangers, the Queen was obliged, by the Law of Necessity, to restrain and tye up those of her Subjects, who were disaffected to her, and rendred incurable, as it were, by these Poysons, and that, in the mean Time, began to grow Rich, by their retired Living, and Exemption from the Charge and Burden of publick Offices, by the Bands of some severer Laws. And the Evil daily growing, and the Original thereof being charged upon the Seminary Priests, who had been
bred

bred in Foreign Parts, and were supported by the Bounty and Benevolence of Foreign Princes, the profess'd Enemies of this Realm; and had lived in Places where the very Name of Queen *Elizabeth* was never heard but with the Titles of *Heretick*, *Excommunicated*, and *Accursed*; and who, though they themselves were not engaged in treasonable Practices, yet were known to be the intimate Friends of such as had set their Hand to Villanies of that Kind; and who, by their Artifices, and poysonous Insinuations, had corrupted and soured the whole Mass and Body of the Catholicks, which before was more sweet and harmless, and had infected it with a new kind of Leaven, as it were, and pernicious Malignity; There could no other Remedy be found, but by forbidding such Persons all manner of Entrance into this Kingdom, upon Pain of Death: Which at last, in the Twenty Seventh Year of her Reign, was accordingly enacted.

NOR did the Event it self, some little Time after, when so mighty a Storm broke upon this Kingdom, and had lain upon it with all its Weight, in the least take off from the Envy and Hatred of those Men; but rather encreas'd it; as if they had divested themselves of all Affection to their Country. And afterwards indeed, tho' our Fears of *Spain*, (which were the Occasion of this Severity) were over, or abated at least; yet both considering that the Memory of the former Times was deeply fixt in the Minds and Imaginations of Men, and that it would have look'd like Inconstancy, to have abrogated the Laws already made, or Remisness, to have neglected them; the very Constitution and Nature of Affairs suggested to the Queen, that she cou'd not safely return to the former State of Things, that had been before the Three and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

To this may be added, the Industry of some to increase the Revenues of the *Exchequer*; and the Concern of the Mini-

Ministers of Justice, who are wont to consider or regard no other Safety of their Country, but what consists in the Laws; both which requir'd and call'd loudly for the Laws to be put in Execution. However, the Queen (as a manifest Specimen of her Nature) did so far blunt the Edge of the Laws, that but a few Priests, for the Number, suffer'd Death. Nor do we speak this by way of Defence, for these Matters stand in need of none: Since both the Safety of the Kingdom turn'd upon this; and the Method and Measure of all this Severity was far short of those Bloody Massacres, that are scarce fit to be named amongst Christians, and such too as have proceeded, rather from Arrogance and Malice, than from Necessity, in the Catholick Countries. But being mindful of our Assertion, we think we have made it out, that she was moderate in the Point of Religion, and that the Change which happened, was not owing to her Nature, but to the Necessity of the Times.

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OF her Constancy in Religion, and the Observance thereof, the greatest Proof is, That notwithstanding the *Romish* Religion had, in her Sister's Reign, been greatly establish'd by publick Authority, and Abundance of Care, and began now to strike deep Root, and was confirm'd by the Consent and Zeal of all that were in Offices, and great Place in the State; yet because it was not agreeable to the Word of God, nor to the Primitive Purity, nor to her own Conscience, she did, with a great deal of Courage, and with very few Helps, extirpate and abolish it. Nor did she do this precipitately, or in a Heat, but prudently, and seasonably. And this may be conjectured, as from many other Particulars, so by a certain Answer of Hers, occasionally made. For upon her first Accession to the Throne, when, as a good Omen, and Gratulation of the New Reign, the Prisoners (according to Custom) were Released, as she was going to Chappel, she was accosted by a certain Courtier; who,

who, from Nature, and a Custom of Jestings, had assumed to himself a more than ordinary Freedom: And he, whether of his own Motion, or set on by a Wiser Head, delivered a Petition into her Hand, and, in a great Concourse of People, express'd himself thus, *That there were still Four or Five kept Prisoners, and that for no Reason at all; That he came to petition for their Liberty, as well as for the rest; Those were the Four Evangelists, and also the Apostle St. Paul, who had been long confin'd in an unknown Tongue, as in a Prison, and were not suffer'd to Converse with the People.* The Queen answer'd, with great Prudence, *That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to have their Freedom, or no.* And thus she met a surprising Question with a wary, doubtful Answer; reserving, as it were, the whole Matter entirely in her own Power.

NOR yet did she introduce this Alteration timorously, and by Fits and Starts; but

but Orderly, Gravely, and Maturely ; after a Conference betwixt the Parties, and the Calling, and Conclusion of a Parliament: And thus at last, and that too within the Compass of one revolving Year, she so order'd and establish'd all Things belonging to the Church, that she did not suffer the least Tittle of them to be altered, during her whole Life. Nay, and at every Meeting of Parliament, almost, her publick Admonition was, that no Innovation might be made in the Discipline or Rites of the Church. And thus much of her Religion.

Now, should any of the graver Sort aggravate these Levities ; That she suffered her self, and loved to be Admired, and Courted, nay, and to have Love-Verses made in her Praise ; and that she continued these Things longer than was decent for her Years: Yet if you take, even these Matters in a milder Sense, they are not without their due Admiration ; since they are such Things as are often to be found in

Fa-

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Fabulous Narrations; as of a certain
Queen in the Fortunate Islands, in
whose Court Love-Making was allow-
ed, but Lasciviousness banished: But if
a harsher Construction be put upon
them, even *so* they are to be admired,
and that very highly too, since these
Dalliances did not much eclipse her
Fame, and not at all her Majesty;
neither relax'd her Government, nor
were observ'd to be any Hindrance to
her Affairs. For these sort of Things
frequently mix with a publick Fortune,
and check with Business.

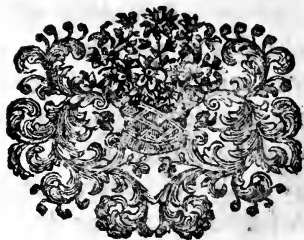
BUT to Conclude this ESSAY: This
PRINCESS was certainly Good and
Moral; and as such she desired to ap-
pear: She hated Vice, and study'd to
grow famous by Honourable Courses.
And indeed upon the naming of her
Morals, something comes into my
Mind to mention. When she had or-
dered an Express to be written to her
Ambassador, concerning certain In-
structions, which he was privately to
impart to the Queen-Mother, of the
House

House of *Valois*; and that her Secretary had inserted a certain Clause, that the Ambassador, to Ingratiate himself, as it were, should say, *That they were two Female Princes, from whom, for Experience, and for the Skill and Arts of Government, there was no less expected, than from the greatest Men;* She cou'd not bear the Comparifon, but order'd it to be struck out, and faid, *That ſhe uſed quite different Arts and Methods of Government.*

SHE was alſo not a little pleas'd, if any one by chance had dropt ſuch an Expreſſion as this, *That tho' ſhe had ſpent her Days in a private and mean Station, yet ſhe could not have paſſ'd her Life without ſome Note of Excellence in the Eye of the World.* So unwilling was ſhe that any of her Virtue and Praise ſhould be owing to the Grandeur of her Fortune.

BUT if I ſhould enter upon her Praiſes, whether Moral or Political, I muſt either fall into certain common Places, and Commemorations of Vir-

tues, which would be unworthy so rare a Princess; or if I would give them their proper Lustre and Grace, I must run out into a History of her Life, which requires both more Leisure, and a richer and more copious Vein. For I have given you here but a short Account, according to my Ability. But, to speak Truth, the only proper Encomiast of this LADY is *Time*; which, for as many Ages as it hath run, hath produced nothing like her (of the same Sex) for the Administration of a State.



PARA-



P A R A B L E S

O F

S O L O M O N,

Explained, and Culled out of the Book of *Proverbs*, for an Example of that Wisdom, which is to be exercised in Business, upon various Occasions.

Translated from his Lordship's Eighth Book, *De Aug. Scientiarum*, Ch. 2.

Not before Printed with the *English* Essays.

The P A R A B L E.

I. *A soft Answer turneth away Wrath*, Prov. 15. 1.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

IF the Wrath of a Prince, or of a Superior, be kindled against thee, and it now be thy Turn to speak, *Solomon* gives two Rules: One, *That an Answer be made*; The other, *That the same be*

soft. The Former contains three Precepts: *First*, that you *beware of a sad and sullen Silence*: For that either charges the Fault wholly upon your self, as if you had nothing to say for your self; or covertly impeaches your Master of Injustice, as if his Ears were not open to a Defence, tho' Just. *Secondly*, that you *beware of delaying and putting off the Thing*, and that you do not crave further Time to give in your Defence: For this either fixes the same Imputation with the former, (which is, that your Lord and Master is excessive Passionate,) or plainly signifies, that you are meditating some artificial Apology, seeing you have nothing ready: So that it is ever the best way to say something in your Defence, instantly, and as the present Occasion shall suggest. *Thirdly*, that by all means *an Answer be made*; an *Answer*, I say; not a mere *Confession*, but let there be a Sprinkling of Apology and Excuse: For 'tis not safe to do otherwise, unless with very generous and noble Dispositions;

tions; which are exceeding rare. It follows, in the next Place, that the Answer be *Soft*, and by no means *Stiff*, or *Rugged*.

The P A R A B L E.

II. *A wise Servant shall have Rule over a Son that causeth Shame; and shall divide the Inheritance among the Brethren, Prov. 17. 2.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

IN every Troubled and Disagreeing Family, there ever ariseth up some Servant, or Humble Friend, who, being powerful with both Sides, may moderate and compose the Differences that are among them; and to whom, in that Respect, the whole Family, and the Master himself, are Obnoxious. This Man, if he aim at his own Ends only, cherishes and aggravates the Divisions of the Family; but if he be truly Faithful and Upright, certainly he is very deserving: So that he ought to be

reckon'd even as one of the Brethren;
or at least to receive a Fiduciary Administration of the Inheritance.

The P A R A B L E.

III. *If a wise Man contests with a Fool, whether he be in Anger, or in Jest, there is no Quiet, Prov. 29. 9.*

The EXPLICATION.

WE are often admonish'd, to *avoid an unequal Encounter*; in this Sense; *not to contend with Persons stronger than our selves.* But it is a no less profitable Instruction, which *Solomon* here sets down, *Not to contend with a worthless Person.* For such a Business is usually transacted upon very disadvantageous Terms. For to Overcome, is no Victory; but to be Overcome, a foul Disgrace. Nor does it avail neither, in the waging a Contest of this Nature, to deal sometimes by way of Jest, as it were, sometimes with Disdain

dain and Contempt. For which way soever we turn our selves, we shall Lose thereby, nor shall we bring our selves off handsomly. But the worst of all is, if the Person, with whom we contend, (as *Solomon* speaks) has somewhat of the *Fool* in him; that is, if he be Confident and Heady.

The P A R A B L E.

IV. *Lend not an Ear to all Words that are spoken, lest perchance thou bear thy Servant curse thee, Eccles. 7. 21.*

The EXPLICATION.

IT is hardly credible, what Disturbance is created in Life, by Unprofitable Curiosity, about those things which concern our personal Interest; That is, when we make a scrupulous Enquiry after such Secrets, which, once disclosed and found out, do but cause Disquiet of Mind, and nothing conduce to the advancing of our Designs. For,

First, there follows Vexation and Uneasiness of Mind; all Human Affairs being full of Treachery and Ingratitude; so that, if there could be procured some Magical Glass, wherein we might behold the Hatreds, and whatsoever malicious Contrivances are any where stirring up against us; it would be better for us, if such a Glass were forthwith thrown away and broken in pieces. For Things of this Nature are like the Wisperings of Leaves, and soon vanish. *Secondly*, This Curiosity loads the Mind too much with Suspicions; which is a Capital Enemy to Counsels, and renders them Inconstant, and Perplex'd. *Thirdly*, This same Curiosity very often fixes the Mischiefs themselves, which would otherwise pass by us, and fly away. For it is a dangerous Matter to irritate Men's Consciences; who, if they think themselves undiscover'd, are easily chang'd for the better; but if once they find themselves dismaskt, they drive out one Mischief by another. Wherefore it was deservedly reckon'd the highest
Wisdom

Wisdom in *Pompey the Great*, that he instantly burnt all *Sertorius's* Papers, unperus'd by himself, nor suffered to be seen by others.

THE P A R A B L E.

V. *Thy Poverty shall come as a Traveller, and thy Want as an Armed Man, Prov. 6. 11.*

THE E X P L I C A T I O N.

IT is elegantly describ'd in this Parable, after what manner Prodigals, and such as are careless of their Estates, are surpriz'd with the Shipwreck of their Fortunes. For Debt and Diminution of Stock comes upon them at first, Step by Step, and with soft Paces, like a Traveller, and is hardly perceiv'd: But soon after *Want* invades them like *an armed Man*; that is, with so strong and potent an Arm, that there is no resisting it any longer; it being rightly said by the Antients, *That of all Things Necessity was the strongest.* Wherefore

fore we must prevent the Traveller; and be well provided against the Armed Man.

The P A R A B L E.

VI. *He that instructs a Scorner, procures to himself Reproach; and he that reprehends a wicked Man, procures to himself a Stain, Prov. 9. 7.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THIS agrees with our Saviour's Precept, *That we cast not our Pearls before Swine.* But in this Parable the Actions of *Instruction* and of *Reprehension* are distinguish'd. The Persons likewise of a *Scorner*, and of a *wicked Man*, are distinguish'd. Lastly, That which is retaliated, is distinguish'd. For in the Former Part, Loss of Labour is repaid; In the Latter, even a Stain too. For when a Man instructs and teaches a *Scorner*, First, there is a Loss of Time: Then Others also de-
ride

ride his Attempt as a fruitless Thing, and a Labour ill placed: Last of all, the Scorners himself disdains the Knowledge which he has learnt. But the Matter is transacted with greater Danger in the *Reprehension of the Wicked*: For a wicked Nature not only gives no Ear to Advice, but turns head against his Reprehender, now made odious unto him, and either wounds him presently with Reproaches, or at least traduces him afterwards to others.

The P A R A B L E.

VII. *A wise Son is the Gladness of his Father; but a foolish Son is the Sadness of his Mother, Prov.*

10. 1.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Comforts and Uneasinesses Domestical, of Father and Mother, touching their Children, are here distinguish'd. For a wise and well-govern'd Son is chiefly a Comfort to the

the Father, who knows the Value of Virtue, better than the Mother: And therefore more rejoices at his Son's Towardliness: Yea, and it may be his Education of him, that he hath brought him up so well, and implanted in him Honesty of Manners, by Preecept and Example, is a Joy unto him. On the other side, the Mother sympathizes more with, and is more griev'd at the Calamity of a Son, both because the Affection of a Mother is more soft and tender, as also perchance from a Consciousness of her Indulgence, whereby she hath tainted and corrupted his tender Years.

The P A R A B L E.

VIII. *The Memory of the Just is blest; but the Name of the Wicked shall putrify, Prov. 10 7.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

HERE is a Distinction between the Fame of Good, and of Bad Men, such as it uses to be after Death,
For

For the Name of Good Men, after Envy is extinguisht, which cropt the Blossom of their Fame while they were alive) presently shoots out and flourishes, and their Praises daily encrease in Strength and Vigour: But for wicked Men, (tho' their Fame, through the partial Favour of Friends, and Men of their Faction, may last for a little Time) a Detestation of their Name soon after springs up; and at last those transient Praises of theirs end in Infamy, and exhale, as it were, in a filthy and noisom Odour.

The P A R A B L E.

IX. *He that troubles his own House shall inherit the Wind, Prov. 11. 9.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

A Very profitable Admonition touching Discords and Domestick Breaches: For abundance of People promise themselves great Matters, by the Divorcement of Wives; or the
Dis-

Dis-inheriting of Sons; or the often changing of Servants; as if thereby they were to gain either Tranquillity of Mind, or a happier Administration of their Affairs. But commonly *their Hopes turn to Wind*. For as those Alterations, generally speaking, are not for the better; so these Disturbers of their own Family, oftentimes meet with divers Vexations, and Ingratitude from the very Persons, whom (passing by others) they Adopt and Chuse. Nay, by this means they draw upon themselves ill Rumours and doubtful Reports: For it is well noted by *Cicero*, *Omnem famam a Domesticis manare, That all Reports spring from Domesticks*. Now both these Evils *Solomon* elegantly expresses by *the Inheritance of Winds*: For the *Frustrating of Expectation*, and *Raising of Rumours*, are rightly compared to the Winds.



The P A R A B L E.

X. *Better is the End of a Speech,
than the Beginning thereof, Ec-
cles. 7. 8.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable corrects a very common Error, not only in those that study Words chiefly; but in the more Wise also. It is this, That Men are more sollicitous about the Entrance and Ingress of their Discourses, than about the Close of them: And more exactly meditate the Exordiums and Prefaces, than the Conclusions of their Speeches. But they should neither neglect Those, and have These, as far more material, ready prepar'd and digested, about them; revolving with themselves, and, as far as possible, fore-casting in their Minds, what may be the Issue at last of their Speech, and how Business may be promoted and matured thereby. Nor is this all. Furthermore, they ought

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ought not to study Epilogues only, and Conclusions of Speeches, that are pertinent to the Business it self: But also Care should be taken of such Speeches too, as may aptly and pleasantly be cast in, at the very instant of Departure, altho' they have no reference at all to the Business in hand. I knew two Counsellors, Great and Wise Men, doubtless, and upon whom the Weight of Affairs then principally lay, whose constant and peculiar Custom it was, as often as they conferr'd with their Princes about their own Affairs, never to close their Conference with any Matter referring to that Business; but always to seek Diversions, either to a Jest, or something else, that was delightful to hear, and, as the Adage is, *To wash off, at the Conclusion of all, their Sea-water Discourses with Fountain-Water.* And this was one of their chief Arts.



The

The P A R A B L E.

XI. *As dead Flies cause the best Ointment to send forth an ill O-dour; so doth a little Folly him that is in Reputation for Wisdom and Honour, Eccles. 10. 1.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Case of Men, eminent for Virtue, is very hard and miserable; (as the Parable excellently notes) because their Errors, be they never so small, find no Remission. But as in a pure Diamond of great Lustre, the very least Speck, or smallest Cloud, strikes the Eye, and affects it with a kind of Trouble; which, in a grosser Stone, would hardly be discern'd: So, in Men of singular Abilities, the least Infirmities are presently espied, talked of, and more severely censur'd; which, in Men of moderate Gifts, would either altogether pass without notice, or easily find Pardon. Therefore in a very wise Man,

a little Folly; in a very honest Man, a small Offence; in a Man of Courtly and Elegant Behaviour, a slight Indecency of Manners, derogates much from their Fame and Reputation. So that it would not be the worst Course for extraordinary Persons, to mingle some Absurdities (as far as may be done without Vice) in their Actions; that they may retain a kind of Liberty to themselves, and confound the Notes and Characters of smaller Defects.

THE PARABLE.

XII. *Scornful Men insnare a City,
but wise Men divert Wrath,*
Prov. 29. 8.

THE EXPLICATION.

IT may seem strange, that in the Description of Men made, as it were, and by Nature fram'd for the Dissolution and Ruin of States, *Solomon* hath chosen the Character, not of a Proud and Insolent Man, not of a Tyrannical and

and Cruel, not of a Rash and Violent, not of an Impious and Lewd, not of an Unjust and Oppressive, not of a Seditious and Turbulent Spirit, not of an Incontinent and Voluptuous, nor, in fine, of a Foolish and Unable Person; but of a SCORNER. But this is a Judgment most worthy the Wisdom of that King, who best knew the Grounds of the Conservation, or Subversion of States. For there's hardly such another Plague to Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as for Counsellors of Princes, or Senators, and such as sit at the Helm of Government, to be by Nature *Scorners*. For such Persons, that they may seem Undaunted Statesmen, ever extenuate the Greatness of Dangers; and insult over those that give them their just Weight, as timorous and faint-hearted People. All mature Delays in Consulting and Deliberating, and meditated Debatings of Matters, they scoff at, as a Matter of Rhetorick, and full of Tedioufness, and nothing conducing to the Sum and Issues of Business. Fame,

by which the Counsels of Princes should in an especial manner be framed, they despise as the *Spittle of the Mob*, and as a Thing that will soon blow over: The Power and Authority of Laws they respect no more than as so many Cobwebs, which should not presume to Hamper Matters of greater Consequence: Counsels and Precautions that look forward to Things at a Distance, they reject as Dreams and melancholy Apprehensions: Men really Wise, and well seen in Affairs, and of great Resolution and Counsel, they banter with Gibes and Jest: In a Word, they at once weaken all the Foundations of Civil Government. Which is the more to be attended, because the Thing is done by mining and working under ground, and not by open Force: And it is a Practice which is not yet so suspected in the World, as it deserves.



The P A R A B L E.

XIII. *A Prince that lends a willing Ear to Lies, his Servants are all wicked, Prov. 29. 12.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

WHEN a Prince is of such a Temper as to lend an easie and credulous Ear, without Examination, to Whisperers and Sycophants, there breathes, as it were, from the King's side a pestilential Air, which corrupts and infects all his Servants. Some search out the Fears of a Prince, and aggravate the same with fictitious Stories: Others stir up the Furies of Envy, especially against the best Men in the State: Others wash away their own Filth and Stains of Conscience, by Accusations against other Men: Others give sail to the Preferments, and promote the Suits of their Friends, by Calumniating and Traducing their Competitors: Others compose Fabulous Representations of their Enemies, as upon a Stage; and in-

finite the like. And these are the Arts of such of the Prince's Servants, as are of a vile and base Nature. Nay, and those also that are of a more honest Disposition, and of better Morals, when they perceive their Innocence to be little or no Security to them, (their Prince not knowing how to distinguish between Truth and Falshood) put off Moral Honesty, and accommodate themselves to the Air of the Court, and are therewith carried about in a servile manner. For (as *Tacitus* says of *Claudius*) *There is no Safety with that Prince, into whose Head all things are convey'd, as it were, by Infusion and Direction from others.* And *Comines* saith very well; *It is better to be a Servant to a Prince, whose Jealousies have no End, than to a Prince, whose Credulity has no Mean.*



The P A R A B L E.

XIV. *A just Man is merciful to the Life of his Beast; but the Mercies of the Wicked are cruel,*
Prov. 12. 10.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THERE is implanted in Man's Nature a noble and excellent Affection of Pity and Compassion, which extends it self even unto Brute Creatures, that are by divine Ordination subject to his Command. And therefore this Compassion hath some Analogy with that of a Prince towards his Subjects. Nay further, this is most certain, that the more worthy any Soul is, the larger is its Compassion. For narrow and degenerate Souls imagine such things appertain not to them: But the Mind that looks upon it self as a nobler Portion of the Universe, is kindly affected towards inferiour Creatures, out of the Communion there is between

them. Wherefore we see, that there were under the Old Law many Precepts, not merely Ceremonial, so much as Instructive of Mercy: As that of *not eating Blood with the Life in it*, and such like. Even in the Sects of the *Essens* and *Pythagoreans*, they altogether abstained from eating Flesh. Which obtains even to this Day, by an inviolable Superstition, with some Inhabitants under the Empire of the *Mogul*. Nay, the *Turks* (tho' a Cruel and Bloody Nation, both by Descent and Discipline) yet are wont to bestow Alms upon Brutes, can't bear the Vexation and Torture of living Creatures. But lest, what we have said, should perchance seem to countenance all sort of Mercy, *Solomon* wholsomly annexes, *That the Mercies of the Wicked are cruel*. These are, when Wicked and Villanous Persons are spared, who ought to be cut off by the Sword of Justice: For this kind of Mercy is more Cruel than Cruelty it self. For Cruelty is exercised upon single Persons only; but

but that kind of Mercy, by a Grant of Impunity, arms and lets loose the whole Band of Villanous Men upon the Innocent.

The P A R A B L E.

XV. *A Fool utters all his Mind;
but a wise Man reserves some-
what for hereafter, Prov. 29. 11.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable (it seems) corrects principally, not the Futility of vain Persons, that easily utter, as well what shou'd not be spoken, as what shou'd; Nor that bold Liberty, whereby, without Discretion and Judgment, they fly at all both Men and Things; Nor Garulity, whereby they disturb others with their Babble, even to a Surfeit; But another Weakness that is more secret; namely, a Regimen of Speech, which, of all other, is the least Prudent and Politick: It is this, When a Man so orders his Discourse, in private Conferences,

ferences, as, whatever he has in his Mind, which he conceives pertinent to the Matter in hand, to out with it at once, and, as it were, in one Breath, and in a set continued Speech: For this is a huge Prejudice to Business. For, *First*, a Speech broken off by Interlocutions, and instilled by Parts, penetrates much deeper than a Continued One; because in a Continued Speech the Weight of Matters is not distinctly and particularly taken, nor does it by any Rest or Pause sink in; but one Reason drives out another, before it be fully settled in the Mind of the Hearer. *Secondly*, There is no Man Master of such powerful and happy Eloquence, as at the very first Dash to strike the Person he speaks to, utterly Dumb and Speechless; so as not to be able to make some Reply again, and perhaps object somewhat on the other side. And then it falls out, that what should have been reserv'd for Refutation, or Replication, being anticipated and tasted beforehand, loses its Strength and Grace,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, If a Man do not pour out all he hath to say at once, but deliver it by Parcels, first one thing, and anon casting in another, he shall still find, by the Looks and Answers of the Person he speaks to, how every particular Passage has affected him, and in what manner they have found Acceptance; that so what is still remaining to be spoke, he may, with greater Caution, either Suppress, or Select.

The P A R A B L E.

XVI. *If the Displeasure of a Great Man rise up against thee, forsake not thy Place; for pliant De-meanour pacifies great Offences,*
Eccles. 10. 4.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable advises, how a Man ought to demean himself, having incurr'd the Anger and Indignation of his Prince. The Precept is twofold: *First*, That he relinquish
not

not his Place and Office: *Secondly*, That with Caution and Diligence he attend the Cure, as in case of some dangerous Disease. For Men are wont, when once they have perceiv'd their Prince's Displeasure against them; partly out of an Impatience of Disgrace, partly lest they should make the Wound bleed afresh by coming into the Presence; partly that their Prince may see their Sorrow and Humility; to withdraw from their Employments; nay, sometimes to resign up the Places and Dignities they held, into their Prince's Hands. But *Solomon* disallows this way of Cure, as hurtful and prejudicial; and that certainly upon very good grounds. For, *First*, that Course doth too much publish the Disgrace it self: From whence both Enemies and Enviars grow more bold to hurt; and Friends more timorous to help. *Secondly*, By this means it comes to pass, that the Wrath of the Prince, which, if it had not been made publick, wou'd have died perhaps of it self, becomes now more
fixt;

fixt: And having made an Entrance, as it were, upon the Man's Overthrow, is carried on, to his utter Ruin. *Lastly*, this Retiring favours something of a Malignant Humour, and of one fallen out with the Times; which crowns the Evil of Indignation, with the Evil of Suspicion.

THE proper Methods therefore of Cure are these. *First*, Above all things let him take heed, lest, through any Stupidity, or else a Haughtiness of Spirit, he seem insensible of the Prince's Displeasure, or not to be so affected with it, as in Duty he ought to be; that is, that he both compose his Countenance, not to a contumacious Sadness, but to a grave and modest Pensiveness; and in all matters of Employment, that he shew himself less pleasant and chearful than he was wont to be. It may be expedient likewise, to make use of the Service and Mediation of some Friend with the Prince, who may seasonably Insinuate, with what sensible Grief he is inwardly afflicted.

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Secondly, Let him carefully avoid all, even the least Occasions, whereby either the Thing it self, which was the first Cause of the Indignation, may be revived; or the Prince lay hold of a new Occasion to be displeas'd with him again, and upon any Account whatsoever, to chide him before others.

Thirdly, Let him with all Diligence seek all manner of Occasions, wherein his Service may be acceptable to his Prince; that he may both shew a prompt and forward Affection to redeem his fore-past Offence; and his Prince may understand, what a good Servant he may chance to lose, if he discharges him.

Fourthly, Let him either sagaciously lay the Fault upon others; or insinuate, that it was committed with no ill Intention; or remonstrate their Malice, who accused him to the King, or aggravated the Matter above measure. To conclude, let him be every way diligent, and watchful, and intent upon the Cure.

The

The P A R A B L E.

XVII. *The First in his own Cause is Just; then comes the other Party and enquires into him, Prov. 18.*

17.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE first Information in any Cause, if it a little sink into the Mind of the Judge, takes deep Root, and seasons and prepossesses him; so that it can hardly be fetch'd out, unless either manifest Falshood be found in the matter of Information; or some Artifice in exhibiting and laying open the same. For a bare and simple Defence, tho' it be Just and more Weighty, is scarce of Force enough of it self, to compensate the Prejudice of the first Information, or to reduce the Scales of Justice, once sway'd down, to a Balance. Therefore it is the safest Course both for the Judge, that nothing touching the Merits of the Cause, be intimated beforehand,

hand, until both Parties be heard together; and it is best for the Defendant, if he perceive the Judge Prepossess'd, to labour this principally, (as far as the Cause will admit) to discover some cunning Shift, and fraudulent Dealing, practis'd by the adverse Party, to the Abuse of the Judge.

The P A R A B L E.

XVIII. *He that delicately brings up his Servant from a Child, shall find him contumacious in the End,*
Prov. 29. 21.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

PRINCES and Masters, by the Counsel of *Solomon*, are to keep a Mean in the Dispensation of their Grace and Favour towards Servants. This Mean is three-fold: *First*, That they be promoted by Steps, or Degrees, and not by Leaps: *Secondly*, That they be now and then accustomed to Repulses: *Thirdly*, (which *Machiavel* well advises)

vifes) that they have ever in Sight before them something whereunto they may farther aspire. For unless these Courses be taken, Princes doubtless will reap in the end, from their Servants, Disrespect and Contumacy, instead of a grateful and dutiful Affection. For from a sudden Promotion arises Insolence: From a continual Attainment of their Desires, proceeds Impatience of being denied: *Lastly*, Where there is want of further Desire, there will be want also of Alacrity and Industry.

The P A R A B L E.

XIX. *Seest thou a Man of Dispatch in his Business? He shall stand before Kings, he shall not be ranked amongst mean Men,*
Prov. 22. 29.

The EXPLICATION.

AMONGST the good Qualities which Princes, in the Choice of Servants, chiefly respect and require,

Celerity and Alacrity in the Dispatch of Business, is, above all the rest, most acceptable. Men of profound Wisdom are suspected by Kings, as prying into things with too piercing a Sight; and able, by the Strength of their Wit, (as with an Engine) to turn and wind about their Masters insensibly, and whether they will or no. Then Popular Natures are hated, as those that stand in the Light of Kings, and draw the Eyes of the People too much upon themselves. Men of Courage are often taken for turbulent Spirits, and more enterprizing than is meet. Honest Men, and of an upright Conversation, are look'd upon as stiff and morose, and not pliable enough to every Nod of their Masters. To conclude, There is no other good Quality, but is attended with some Shadow, as it were, wherewith the Minds of Kings may be offended; But Quickness of Dispatch alone has nothing in it that can displease. Again, the Motions of the Minds of Kings are swift, and impatient of Delays:

lays: For they imagine they *Can* do any thing; and that this only is wanting, *That it be done out of hand.* Therefore, above all things, Celerity is most acceptable to them.

The P A R A B L E.

XX. *I saw all the Living which walk under the Sun, with the succeeding Young Prince, that shall rise up in his stead, Eccles. 4. 15.*

The EXPLICATION.

THE Parable notes the Vanity of Men, who are wont to press and flock about the designed Successors of Princes. Now the Root of this Thing is that Frenzy deeply implanted by Nature in the Minds of Men; namely, their being too fond of their own projected Hopes. For the Man is rarely found, that is not more delighted with the things he hopes for, than with the things he enjoys. Another thing is, *Novelty* is pleasing to Man's Nature, and

earnestly coveted. Now in a Successor to a Prince, these two concur, *Hope* and *Novelty*. And the Parable hints the same Thing, which was long ago said, first by *Pompey* to *Sylla*, and afterwards by *Tiberius* touching *Macro*; *That more Men adore the Rising, than the Setting Sun*. Yet, notwithstanding, Princes in Possession are not much mov'd with this, nor make any great Matter of it, (as neither *Sylla* nor *Tiberius* did) but rather smile at the Levity of Men, and do not stand to fight with Dreams: For *Hope* (as one said) *is but the Dream of a Man awake*.

The P A R A B L E.

XXI. *There was a little City, and mann'd but by a few; and there was a mighty King that drew his Army to it, and erected Bulwarks against it, and intrench'd it round. Now there was found within the Walls a poor wise Man, and he*
by

*by his Wisdom rais'd the Siege,
but none remembred that same
poor Man, Eccles. 9. 14, 15.*

THE EXPLICATION.

THE Parable sets forth the depraved and malignant Nature of Men. They in Extremities and Straits commonly fly to Men of Wisdom and Courage, whom before they despis'd. But so soon as the Storm is over, they become unthankful Wretches to their Preservers. But *Machiavel*, not without Reason, puts a Question, *Which of the two has been more ungrateful to well-deserving Persons, the Prince, or the People?* But in the mean time he taxes both of Ingratitude. Notwithstanding, this does not arise solely from the Ingratitude of the Prince or People, but there is generally added thereto the Envy of the Nobility, who in secret repine at the Event, tho' happy and prosperous, because it proceeded not from themselves. Therefore they both

extenuate the Merit of the Act, and depress the Author.

The P A R A B L E.

XXII. *The Way of the Slothful is as a Hedge of Thorns, Prov. 15. 19.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable points out most elegantly, That Sloth, in the Conclusion, proves laborious. For the Effect of Diligence, and of a sedulous Preparation, is this, That the Foot does not strike against any Impediment; but that the Way is made plain, before it be enter'd into. But he that is slothful, and puts off all to the last Moment of Execution, must needs perpetually, and at every Step, pass, as it were, thro' Briars and Brambles; which, ever and anon, detain and entangle him. The same Observation may be made also in the Governing of a Family; wherein, if there be due Care and Providence used, all Things go on peaceably, and, as it were, of themselves, without Noise
and

and Tumult: But if those Things be wanting, in case of any considerable Commotion, all Things come thronging in to be dispatch'd at once: The Servants are in an Uproar; the whole House rings, and there is nothing well done in that Confusion.

The P A R A B L E.

XXIII. *He that respects Persons in Judgment doth not well; for that Man will forsake the Truth even for a Piece of Bread, Prov. 28. 21.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable most wisely notes, that, in a Judge, Facility of Temper is more pernicious than Corruption by Bribes. For all Persons do not give Bribes; but there is hardly any Cause, wherein somewhat may not be found, to incline the Mind of the Judge, if he Respect Persons. For One Man shall be respected as his Countryman; Another, as a Foul-mouth'd Man; Another, as Rich; Another, as a Favourite; Another,

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as Recommended by a Friend: In short,
All is full of Iniquity, where *Respect of*
Persons bears sway; and for a very
slight Matter, as *for a Mouthful of*
Bread, Judgment will be perverted.

The P A R A B L E.

XXIV. *A poor Man that by Ex-*
tortion oppresseth the Poor, is like
a Land-Floud that causes Fa-
mine, Prov. 28. 3.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THIS Parable was, by the Ancients,
express'd and shadow'd forth under
the Fable of the two Horse-Leeches;
the Full and the Empty one. For Op-
pression by the Poor, and the Hunger-
starv'd, is far more heavy, than Oppres-
sion by the Rich and the Full; because
it is such as narrowly seeks out all Arts
of Exaction, and all Corners for Money.
The same Thing also was wont to be
resembled to Sponges, which, being dry,
suck in strongly; but not so, when
well

well-moisten'd. It contains also an useful Instruction, as well to Princes, that they commit not the Government of Provinces, or Offices of Charge, to Indigent Persons, and Bankrupts; as also to People, that they suffer not their Kings to struggle with too much Want.

The P A R A B L E.

XXV. *A Just Man falling before the Wicked, is a Troubled Fountain and a Corrupted Spring,*
Prov. 25. 26.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable advises, That States should, above all things, beware of an Unjust and Infamous Judgment in any Celebrated and Weighty Cause; especially where not only the Guilty is acquitted, but the Innocent condemned. For Injuries ravaging among private Persons, trouble indeed and pollute the Waters, yet only in the smaller Streams, as it were: But such Unjust Judgments

as I mention'd, from which Precedents are fetch'd, infect and stain the very Fountains of Justice. For when once the Tribunal sides with Injustice, the State is turn'd into a publick Robbery, and it manifestly comes to pass, *Ut homo homini sit Lupus; That one Man becomes a Prey to another.*

The P A R A B L E.

XXVI. *Make no Friendship with an angry Man; nor walk thou with a furious Man, Prov. 22. 24.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

BY how much the more religiously the Laws of Friendship amongst good Men are to be kept and observ'd; so much the more Caution is to be used, from the very first, about the prudent Choice of Friends And the Nature and Humours of Friends, so far as they concern our selves only, are by all means to be born withal: But when they impose a Necessity upon us, to behave our selves

selves just as they would have us towards other Men, it is a very hard and unreasonable Condition of Friendship. Therefore it is of huge Moment, according to *Solomon's* Precept, towards the Peace and Security of our Life, to have no Commerce with Cholerick Natures, and such as easily Provoke, or Undertake, Quarrels and Debates. For such kind of Friends will be perpetually engaging us in Factions and Contentions; so that we shall be constrained, either to break off Friendship, or else be wanting to our own personal Safety.

THE P A R A B L E.

XXVII. *He that conceals a Fault, seeks Friendship; but he that repeats a Matter, separates united Friends,* Prov. 17. 9.

THE E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Way to compose Differences, and to reconcile Affections, is twofold: The One begins with an Act of Ob-

492 *Counsels touching Business.*

Oblivion of what is past: The Other, with a Repetition of Injuries, interlacing Apologies and Excuses. I remember the Opinion of a very wise Person, and a great Statesman; *He that treats a Peace without a Recapitulation of the Terms of Difference, that Man rather deludes Men's Minds with the sweet Name of Agreement, than equitably makes it up.* But Solomon, a wiser Man than he, is of a contrary Opinion; approves Amnesty, and forbids Repetition. For in Repetition, or renewing the Memory of the Causes of Difference, there are these Inconveniencies: That it is, as it were, *Unguis in ulcere, Raking in the Ulcer*; as also, that there is a Danger of breeding a new Quarrel, (for the Parties will never agree about the Reasons of the Injuries.) And, Lastly, That it brings the Matter in the Issue to Apologies: Whereas both Parties had rather be thought to have remitted an Offence, than to have admitted an Excuse for it.

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THE P A R A B L E.

XXVIII. *In every good Work there shall be Abundance; but where Words do abound, there commonly is Want, Prov. 14. 23.*

THE E X P L I C A T I O N.

SOLOMON distinguishes, in this Parable, the Fruit of the Labour of the Tongue, and of the Labour of the Hands, as if Want were the Product of the One, and Abundance of the Other. For it almost always comes to pass, that they that talk liberally, boast much, and promise mighty Matters, are Beggars; and receive no Advantage from those Things they talk of. Furthermore, generally speaking, they are no way industrious, or diligent in their Employment: But only feed and fill themselves with Words as with Wind. Certainly, as the Poet says,

Qui

—— *Qui silet est firmus.* ——

HE that is conscious to himself of Proficiency in his Endeavours, applauds himself inwardly, and holds his Tongue: On the other hand, he that knows within himself, that he is guilty of hunting after windy Applause, talks abundantly, and reports Wonders unto others.

The P A R A B L E.

XXIX. *Open Reprehension is better than secret Affection, Prov. 27.*

5.

The EXPLICATION.

THE Parable reprehends the Softness of such Friends as do not use the Privilege which Friendship gives them, in admonishing their Friends with Freedom and Boldness, as well of their Errors, as of their Dangers. *For what shall I do?* (will such a tender-hearted Friend say) *or which way*

way shall I turn my self? I love him as dearly as any Man can do another: And if any Misfortune should befall him, I would willingly put my self in his Place: But I know his Temper: If I deal freely with him, I shall offend him, at least chagrine him; and yet do no good: And I shall sooner alienate him from my Friendship, than bring him off from those Courses, which he has fixt and resolved upon in his Mind. Such a Friend as this, as Effeminate, and Worthless, Solomon here reprehends; and pronounces, that a Man may reap more Profit from a manifest Enemy, than from a Friend of this sort. For he may chance to hear those things by way of Reproach from an Enemy, which a Friend, through too much Indulgence, does but whisper.



The P A R A B L E.

XXX. *A wise Man is wary of his Ways; a cunning Fool seeks Evasions, Prov. 14. 8*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THERE are two Sorts of Wisdom: The One, True and Sound; the Other, Counterfeit and False; which *Solomon* makes no Scruple to entitle by the Name of Folly. He that has applied himself to the former, *takes heed of his own Ways and Footings; Forecasting Dangers; Studying Remedies; Using the Assistance of good Men; Fencing himself against ill Men; Wary how he enters upon a Business; and not unprovided of a Retreat; Attent upon Advantages, Strenuous against Impediments; with infinite other Things, which respect the Government of his own Actions and Steps.* But the other Sort is altogether made up of Fallacies and crafty Devices, and relies wholly upon

upon hopes of circumventing others, and moulding them to his own Fancy. This the Parable deservedly rejects, not only as Wicked, but as Foolish also. For, *First*, it is by no means in the number of those Things which are in our own Power, nor yet is it directed by any constant Rule; but new Stratagems must every Day be contrived, the old failing, and growing out of Use. *Secondly*, He that has got the Name and Mark of a Cunning and Crafty Man, has utterly depriv'd himself of a principal Instrument of Action; that is, *Trust*: And therefore he shall find all Things go cross to his Desires. To conclude, These same Acts and Shifts, howsoever they look fair, and please much, yet are they most commonly frustrated; which *Tacitus* hath well observed: *Crafty and audacious Counsels* (says he) *are Joyful in the Expectation; Difficult in the Management; and Sad in the Event.*

The P A R A B L E.

XXXI. *Be not Righteous overmuch; nor make thy self too excessively wise; Why should'st thou unseasonably sacrifice thy Safety? Ecclef. 7. 16.*

The EXPLICATION.

THERE are Times, (as Tacitus says) wherein great Virtues are attended with most certain Ruin. And this befalls Men eminent for Virtue and Justice, sometimes suddenly, sometimes foreseen afar off. But if Prudence be also added to their other Accomplishments; that is, if they be wary, and watchful over their own Safety, then they gain thus much, that their Ruin comes suddenly, from Counsels altogether hidden and obscure; whereby both Envy may be avoided, and their Ruin fall upon them unprovided. As for that *Nimium* (*Overmuch*) which
is

is set down in the Parable, it is to be understood, not of Virtue it self (in which there is no *Nimium*) but of a vain and invidious Affectation and Ostentation thereof.

SOMETHING resembling this, *Tacitus* intimates touching *Lepidus*; setting it down as a Miracle, that he had never been the Author of any servile Sentence, and yet stood safe in such cruel Times. *A Thought* (says he) *comes into my Mind, whether these Things are governed by Fate; or whether it lies also in our own Power, to steer a middle Course, at once free both from Danger and Indignity, between deformed Flattery, and abrupt and sullen Contumacy.*



The P A R A B L E.

XXXII. *Give Occasion to a Wise Man, and his Wisdom will be increased, Prov. 9. 9.*

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable distinguishes between that Wisdom, which is grown and ripen'd into a true Habit; and that which swims only in the Brain, and the Conceit, or is boasted in Speech, but hath not taken deep Root. For the Former, upon Occasion presented, whereupon to exercise it self, is immediately roused, addresses it self to the Business, and is so enlarged and dilated, that it seems greater than it self: But the Latter, which, before Occasion, was brisk and busie; now Occasion is given, becomes amaz'd and confounded; to the Degree, that the very Person, who presum'd himself possess'd of it, begins to doubt, whether his Preconceptions of such Wisdom were not mere Dreams, and empty Speculations.

The

The P A R A B L E.

XXXIII. *He that praiseth his Friend
aloud, rising early, it shall be
to him no better than a Curse,*
Prov. 27. 14.

The E X P L I C A T I O N.

MODERATE and seasonable Praises, uttered upon Occasion, conduce mainly to Men's Fame, and Fortune too: But Praises Immoderate, and Noisy, and Importunely pour'd out, profit nothing; nay rather, according to the Sense of this Parable, do a great deal of Hurt. For, *First*, they manifestly betray themselves to proceed, either from Excess of Love and Kindness; or that they are affected and design'd; to the end they may rather ingratiate themselves with the Person commended by false Encomiums, than set him off by just and deserved Attributes. *Secondly*, Sparing and modest Praises commonly invite such as
are

are present to add something of their own to the Commendation; contrariwise, profuse and immoderate ones, to detract, and take away something. *Thirdly*, (which is the principal Point) too much magnifying a Man stirs up Envy towards him; since all Immoderate Praises seem to tend to the Reproach of Others, who are no less deserving.

THE P A R A B L E.

XXXIV. *As Faces shine in Waters,
so Men's Hearts are manifest to
the Wise, Prov. 27. 19.*

THE E X P L I C A T I O N.

THE Parable distinguishes between the Hearts of wise Men, and of those that are not wise; comparing the Former to Waters, or Glasse, which receive and represent the Forms and Images of Things; whereas the other are like to Earth, or rude and unpolish'd Stone, wherein nothing is reflected.

And

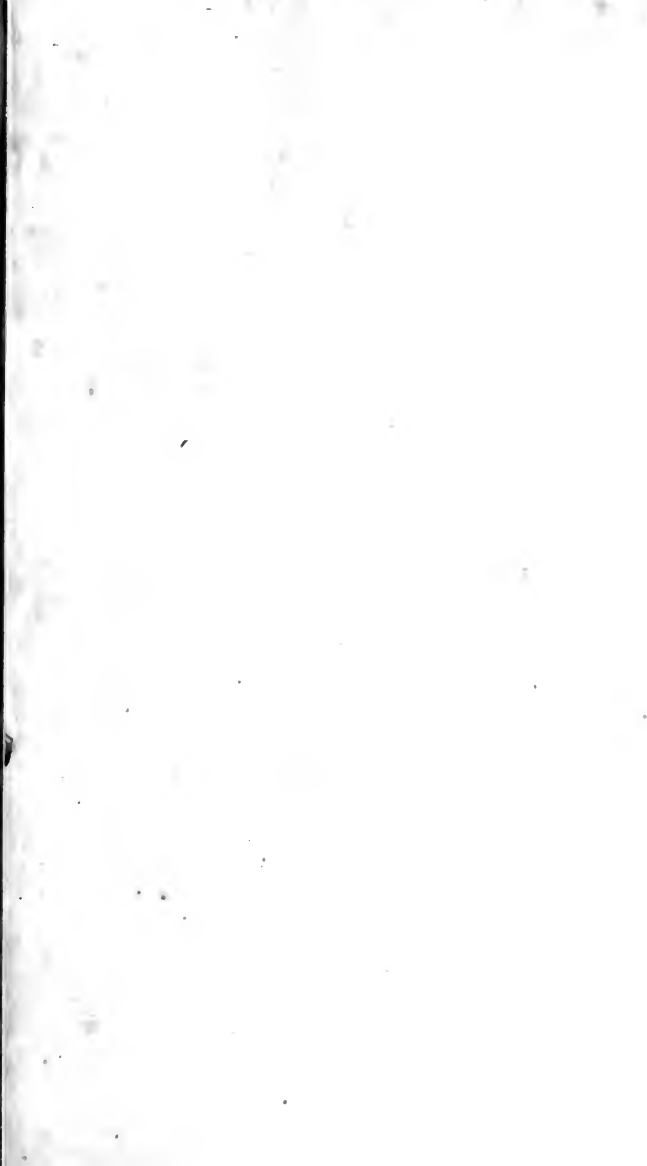
And the more aptly is the Mind of a wise Man compared to a Glass or Mirror; because in a Glass he can see his own Image, together with the Images of other Men; which his Eyes cannot do alone without the Help of a Glass. Now if the Mind of a wise Man be so capable, as to observe and comprehend an infinite Diversity of Natures and Manners, it remains to be endeavoured, that it may become no less various in the Application, than it is in the Representation:

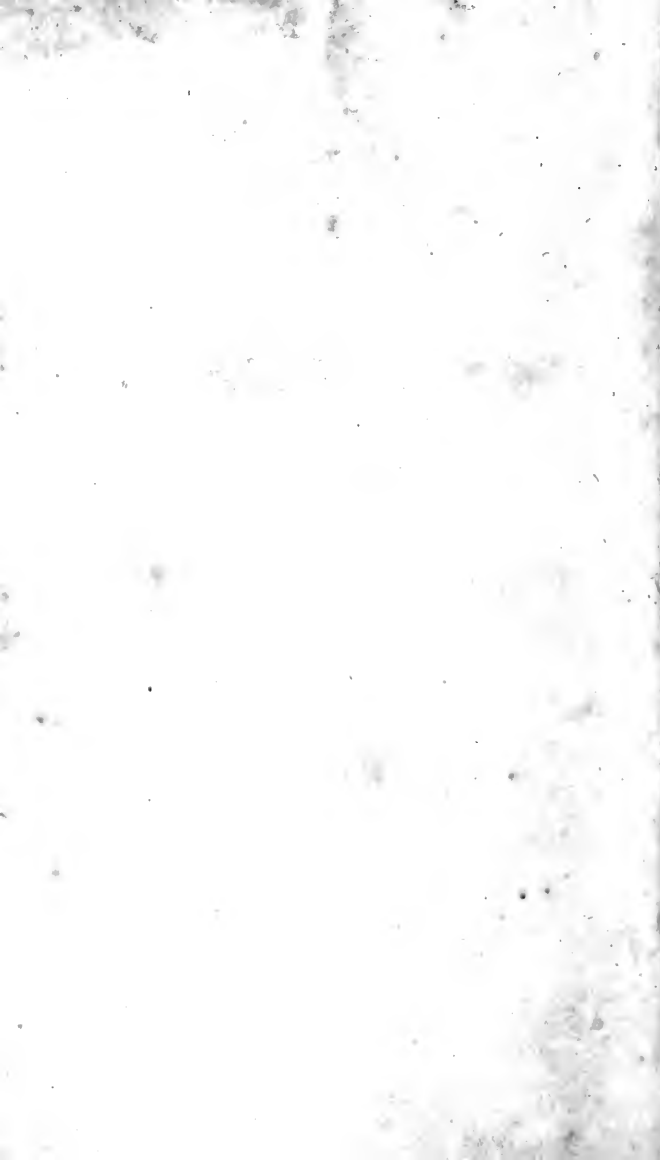
Qui sapit, innumeris Moribus aptus erit.
Ov. A. A.

F I N I S.









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(1) P-Ii^x, Kk^v
(2) π^x, B-Hh^x

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